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CONTENTS

LA PORTE OTTOMANE FACE AUX COSAQUES ZAPOROGUES 1600-1637

MIHNEA BERINDEI

En novembre 1606 prenait fin, à Sitvatorok, la guerre qui opposait Ottomans et Impériaux depuis 1594. Quelques mois plus tard, en juillet 1607, le sultan ratifiait le nouveau traité de paix avec la Pologne. Désormais, la Porte estima avoir retrouvé le calme en Europe. Elle concentra ses efforts sur l'Anatolie pour y vaincre les rebelles, assurant ainsi ses arrières en vue de la campagne contre les Persans.

Pourtant, au long des frontières polonaises, la situation était loin d'être calme. L'ingérence des nobles des marches méridionales du royaume dans les affaires moldaves et les incursions réitérées et de plus en plus audacieuses des Cosaques dans les territoires sous la suzeraineté du sultan, créaient une tension permanente qui dégénéra à plusieurs reprises en conflit ouvert. Cependant, il ne faut pas confondre ces deux actions qui avaient des buts différents, même si les Cosaques participèrent activement aux expéditions des nobles polonais. Ces derniers tentaient d'imposer en Moldavie, pour s'assurer le contrôle politique du pays, des voïévodes du parti des boyards pro-polonais — la famille des Movilă (ukr. Mohyla) surtout, avec laquelle ils étaient d'ailleurs souvent apparentés. Leurs agissements manquaient d'envergure et n'inquiétaient pas trop la Porte, d'autant plus qu'habituellement le roi et le Sénat les désavouaient.

Les razzias des Cosaques, mal coordonnées et apparemment sans autres motifs que des rapines, n'alarmèrent pas la Porte tant qu'elles ne furent que des réponses aux incursions tatares. Mais dans les dernières décennies du XVI^{e} siècle, les Zaporogues commencent à s'attaquer aux villes ottomanes des embouchures du Dniepr, du Dniestr et du Danube.[1] La route commerciale passant par Aqkirman

[1] On peut citer, d'après N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetăţii Albe* (*Études historiques concernant Chilia* [Kili] *et Cetatea Albă* [Aqkirman]) (cité infra: *Studii istorice*), Bucarest, 1899, p. 200-215, parmi les expéditions cosaques importantes à partir de 1574:

(roum. Cetatea Albă, ukr. Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyj) et Özü (Očakiv) devint peu sûre. L'élevage des moutons, principale ressource des steppes pontiques, fut durement éprouvé.[2]

Dans la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle, les actions des Cosaques prennent une autre tournure. Leurs expéditions remontent le Danube, frappent un peu partout sur les bords de la mer Noire et arrivent jusqu'au Bosphore. Le commerce danubien et pontique dont dépendait, dans une large mesure, l'approvisionnement d'Istanbul, se désorganise. Sans être directement menacée, la Porte voit son autorité atteinte. Comme toute force «nomade» qui s'attaque à un état sédentaire, les Cosaques essayent de «couper les routes» du commerce. Les Ottomans se trouvent donc confrontés à un adversaire imprévisible et insaisissable, disposant d'un champ de manœuvre très large et capable de se dérober facilement.

Dans l'histoire encore peu explorée des Cosaques Zaporogues, le problème des incursions contre l'Empire ottoman, aux XVI-XVII[e] siècles, est l'un des mieux connus grâce aux nombreuses études d'historiens comme D.I. Javornyc'kyj, *Istorija zaporožskix kazakov*, Saint Pétersbourg, t. I-II, 1892, 1895; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny Rusy*, t. I-X, 1898-1937; V.J. Holubuc'kyj, *Zaporožskoe kazačestvo*, Kiev, 1957.

On a moins souvent envisagé le même sujet sous l'angle ottoman. La présente et brève étude se fixe un but modeste : l'analyse du mécanisme de la riposte ottomane. Elle est fondée surtout sur les rapports diplomatiques contemporains ainsi que sur les documents ottomans édités ou inédits qui sont particulièrement nombreux pour cette période.[3]

1574 25 *šayqa* attaquent Aqkirman.
1576 35 *šayqa* ravagent Aqkirman; des unités cosaques attaquent les régions de Bender Ǧankirman et Özü.
1578 Islām-kirman est détruite.
1583 expéditions contre Bender et Aqkirman.
1587 raid contre Özü; ravages à Bender et à Aqkirman.
1588 quatre villages du *sanǧaq* de Bender sont razziés.
1593 saccages dans la région d'Orhei en Moldavie et à Bender.
1594 Yassi, en Moldavie, est pillée.
1594 et 1595 incursions en Buǧaq.

[2] Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 201-203.

[3] Z. Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich* (*Catalogue des documents turcs*), Varsovie, 1959 (= *Katalog*); M. Guboglu, *Catalogul documentelor turceşti* (*Catalogue des documents turcs*), Bucarest, 1965, II (= *Catalogul*). J'ai utilisé un certain nombre de documents provenant des registres de Mühimme Defterleri (registres des Affaires

Parmi les projets de ligue anti-ottomane conçus au début du XVII^e siècle, l'un nous semble particulièrement intéressant, celui élaboré par le duc de Zbaraž. Il prévoyait que la participation polonaise «porroit estre facile et de grande quantité d'hommes» qui seraient recrutés surtout parmi les Cosaques. Il pensait également que la meilleure tactique à adopter serait celle des Zaporogues : descendre le Dniepr en barques et remonter ensuite le Danube où ils feraient la jonction avec le reste de l'armée chrétienne en un endroit convenu d'avance. Ce mouvement présentait deux intérêts majeurs. Il éviterait d'abord les pillages en Pologne et en Moldavie, dus au fait que les Cosaques n'avaient ni provisions ni chevaux, pas plus que l'argent nécessaire à leur achat; de même, il empêcherait la rupture de la paix entre la Porte et la Pologne, inévitable au cas où cette dernière aurait permis le passage des Cosaques.[4]

Cette campagne n'a pas dépassé le stade de projet, mais ce projet n'en reste pas moins une bonne analyse de la situation. Zbaraski était conscient de la volonté du roi et de la majorité de la Diète polonaise de garder de bons rapports avec les Ottomans. En même temps, il appréciait les Cosaques à leur juste valeur; les barques leur assurant une grande mobilité, ils étaient toujours disponibles et prompts à passer à l'action. Le pillage représentait pour eux une nécessité.

Vraisemblablement, les Cosaques n'eurent jamais connaissance de ce projet mais, indépendamment de toute idée de croisade anti-ottomane, nous les verrons, dès le début du XVII^e siècle, attaquer sans relâche les territoires placés sous la suzeraineté du sultan.

En 1601, les Cosaques ravagent la région moldave de Soroca sur le Dniestr.[5] Au printemps 1602, ils mettent en fuite une flotille ottomane près de Kili (roum. Chilia, ukr. Kilija) et capturent à Aqkirman un

Importantes) (cité infra : MD), notamment les volumes : 76 (1604-1610), 77 (1604-1605), 78 (1609), 79 (1610-1611), 81 (1615-1616), 82 (1617-1618), 83 (1626-1628), 87 (1636-1638). Je tiens à cette occasion à exprimer ma reconnaissance envers M. Midhat Sertoğlu, directeur général des Archives de Baş-Vekalet d'Istanbul, qui a très gracieusement autorisé le Professeur Alexandre Bennigsen et Mme Chantal Lemercier Quelquejay, chef de travaux à E.H.E.S.S., à microfilmer ces documents. Je désire également remercier chaleureusement MM. Pertev Boratav, maître de recherches au C.N.R.S., Mihail Guboglu, professeur à l'université de Bucarest, et Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, des Archives de Cracovie, pour les précieuses indications qu'ils ont bien voulu me fournir.

4 N. Iorga, *Acte şi fragmente cu privire la istoria Românilor* (*Actes et fragments relatifs à l'histoire des Roumains*), Bucarest, 1895, I, p. 48-50.

5 Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 217.

bateau marchand venu de Kefe (Kafa-Feodosia). Les quatre galères envoyées à leur rencontre arrivent trop tard.[6] En septembre, le palatin de Lublin, dépêché au secours du voïévode de Moldavie, rapporte au roi que le pays est dévasté par les mercenaires polonais de retour de Valachie, auxquels s'étaient joints 2000 Zaporogues.[7] En 1603, Ismā'īl et Isaqča (Isaccea) sur le Danube furent incendiées.[8]

Dans une lettre adressée au chancelier Zamoyski le 23 mai 1604, le voïévode de Moldavie Ieremia Movilă exprime ses craintes devant les concentrations de «Cosaques d'Ukraine». Il lui fait savoir que le sultan

a ordonné aussi de bâtir d'urgence le chateau-fort d'Oczakov [Özü] et a confié la surveillance des travaux au khan et à Saban-pacha qui était sur la mer Noire.[9]

En septembre 1605, le *sanǧaqbeg* d'Aqkirman recevait l'ordre de se tenir prêt, lui et ses hommes, pour intervenir au cas où le voïévode de Moldavie lui demanderait son soutien contre les Cosaques.[10] Mais en 1606 une expédition cosaque qui aurait réuni 6 à 7000 hommes passe par la Moldavie et ravage les villes de Bender (roum. Tighina) et d'Aqkirman. Le Grand-Vizir se plaint auprès de l'agent du roi de Pologne et fait des remontrances à celui du voïévode moldave.[11]

L'ambassadeur de France à Istanbul fait état de préparatifs décidés par la Porte au printemps 1607. Ša'bān Paša doit partir avec sept galères contre les Cosaques «qui font beaucoup de dommages».[12] Les mercenaires français qui servaient le sultan sont embarqués à destination de «l'embouchure du Danube en la mer Noire pour s'opposer aux maux que les Cosaques font en ces quartiers-là». On leur avait accordé trois mois de solde et promis d'en toucher six autres dès qu'ils arriveraient sur place.[13] Le sultan considérait que ces mesures, auxquelles venait de s'ajouter le traité de paix avec la Pologne[14] étaient suffisantes. Fin 1607, nous voyons le *beg* de Silistre,

[6] Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 219.

[7] *Călători străini despre ţările române* (*Voyageurs étrangers dans les pays roumains*), ouvrage collectif dirigé par M. Holban, Bucarest, 1972, IV, p. 250.

[8] Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 217.

[9] *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* (*Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains recueillis par Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*) (cité infra : Hurmuzaki), Bucarest, 1895, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 335-336, doc. CLXVII.

[10] MD, 77, *hüküm* 491, du 20 Rebī' II 1014.

[11] Hurmuzaki, 1884, IV, 2, p. 288, doc. CCLXXIX, rapport du baile Ottaviano Bon, du 26 juillet 1606.

[12] Hurmuzaki, 1886, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 126-127, doc. CXCI, du 29 mars 1607.

[13] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 127-128, doc. CXCII, du 12-30 mai 1607.

[14] J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1837, vol. VIII, p. 407-413 : «Traduction textuelle du traité de paix avec la Pologne en 1016» (1607). Nous remarquons que, dans ce traité, il n'est fait mention des Cosaques qu'accessoirement.

accompagné de Tatars de Dobroudja volontaires, en Anatolie où ils prirent part à la bataille qui arrêta l'avance du *ǧelali* Kalender-oġlu.[15]

En 1608, la Porte accepte la désignation de Constantin Movilă, imposé sur le trône de Moldavie par ses beaux-frères Potocki et Wiśniowiecki. Pourtant, selon le baile vénitien Ottaviano Bon, des rivaux de Constantin auraient prévenu Istanbul qu'un voïévode trop favorable aux Polonais permettrait le passage des Cosaques qui, une fois installés à Bender et à Kili seraient difficiles à déloger.[16] Le sultan avait pris ses précautions. Dès le mois de février, le *beg* et les *qāḍī* d'Aqkirman et de Kili reçoivent la mission d'armer des barques pour la flottille placée sous le commandement d'Iskender, *beg* de Babadaġ. Ils doivent conjuguer leurs efforts avec ceux de Ḫusrev, commandant des galères, pour assurer la défense des côtes et de la région d'Özü contre les «Cosaques brigands». L'affaire est jugée «importante».[17] Fin avril, on annonce à Aḥmed Paša, *beglerbeg* d'Aqkirman et de Bender, l'arrivée prochaine du *beglerbeg* de Kefe envoyé pour l'épauler au cas où des attaques cosaques se produiraient.[18] Quelques jours plus tard, Aḥmed Paša est nommé commandant en chef de l'ensemble des forces de la région; il devait pouvoir s'opposer efficacement aux éventuelles incursions des Zaporogues dans les territoires ottomans ou en Moldavie.[19] Enfin, en juin, le *beglerbeg* a l'ordre de commencer immédiatement la réparation de la forteresse d'Aqkirman.[20]

Le 28 mai 1609, le sultan enjoignait au voïévode de Moldavie de surveiller attentivement les mouvements des Cosaques et d'envoyer des espions sûrs pour découvrir leurs intentions.[21] Les canons, hors d'usage, de Bender étaient remplacés en 1610.[22]

La situation des bords de la mer Noire et des rives du Danube, dévastés par les Cosaques continue à inquiéter la Porte. En février

[15] von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. VIII, p. 123-124.
[16] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 295, doc. CCLXL, du 4 mars 1608.
[17] MD, 76, *hüküm* 381, sans date, probablement du 1 Ẕi'l-qa'de 1016 (17 février 1608).
[18] MD. 76, *hüküm* 65, sans date, probablement du 8 Muḥarrem 1017 (24 avril 1608).
[19] MD, 76, *hüküm* 32, sans date, probablement du 14 Muḥarrem 1017 (30 avril 1608).
[20] MD, 81, *hüküm* 407, sans date, probablement du 24 Ṣefer 1017 (9 juin 1608).
[21] MD, 78, *hüküm* 770, du 23 Ṣefer 1018 (29 mai 1609).
[22] MD, 79, *hüküm* 110, au *sanǧaqbeg* de Bender, du 19 Muḥarrem 1019 (13 avril 1610).

1609, le *qāḍī ʿasker* de Rumeli est alerté[23] et le *sanǧaqbeg* de Babadaġ est reconduit au poste de «commandant en chef (baš ve buġ) des barques (*šayqa*) destinées à la poursuite et à la mise en fuite des Cosaques brigands».[24] Cependant, cette même année, 30 *šayqa* attaquent la région de Varna. Les *qāḍī* de Pravadi (Provadija), de Yeni Bazar, de Šumni (Šumen) et de Bazarǧiq (Tolbuxin) qui avaient organisé la défense réussissent à repousser les Cosaques mais Varna est saccagée. Le *qāḍī* envoyé en inspection par la Porte au printemps 1610 doit préparer, par tous les moyens possibles, la résistance de la ville à une nouvelle incursion.[25] Néanmoins, en 1612, 60 *šayqa* cosaques attaquent Babadaġ et dévastent ensuite les bords de la mer Noire jusqu'à Varna.[26]

En février 1614, de Harlay-Sançy, l'ambassadeur de France, rapporte que les Cosaques «sont descenduz a la coste de la mer Noire par deça le Danube et faict dommages si signalez que la Porte en ait très offensée». Le Grand-Vizir avait ordonné aux voïévodes de Valachie et de Moldavie de se joindre sans tarder au *sanǧaqbeg* de Silistre et, ensemble, de «passer en Podolie pour y exterminer les dits Cosaques». Tous les bateaux du Danube et d'Aqkirman furent réquisitionnés et les deux voïévodes devaient en construire d'autres. Une grande somme d'argent, dont les tributs des deux pays roumains, fut attribuée au *qapudan-paša* pour la construction des galères.[27] Le sultan dépêcha un *čavuš* au roi de Pologne. Il lui demandait de mettre fin aux attaques cosaques dans les territoires ottomans, conformément au traité en vigueur entre leurs pays. En échange il interdirait aux Tatars de razzier le royaume polonais. La réponse du roi, le 19 mars 1614, fut, comme toujours, évasive. Ces Cosaques, dit-il, incommodent autant son royaume et, à plusieurs reprises, ses généraux les ont mis en fuite. Mais ils se sont retranchés sur le Dniepr et il est difficile de les détruire. Il y a parmi eux des gens de partout, de Moscou, de Valachie, de Hongrie et même des régions de l'Empire ottoman. Leur nombre s'accroît, surtout à la suite des incursions tatares qui obligent les gens à se réfugier parmi eux. Néanmoins, il fera dorénavant tout son possible pour les empêcher d'endommager

[23] MD, 81, *hüküm* 358, sans date, probablement du 24 Ẕī'l-qaʿde 1017 (29 février 1609).
[24] MD, 81, *hüküm* 363, sans date, probablement même date que le précédent.
[25] MD, 76, *hüküm* 92, du 24 Ẕī'l-ḥiǧǧe 1018 (20 mars 1610).
[26] Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 217.
[27] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 164, doc. CCLIII.

les terres du sultan. Tout dépend naturellement des Tatars qui ont agi jusqu'à présent, il en est convaincu, contrairement à la volonté de la Porte.[28]

En juin-juillet, la concentration ottomane continuait sous la direction du *beglerbeg* de Rumeli. Le camp fut établi au-delà du Dniestr.[29] Il s'y trouvait encore en septembre.[30] Le khan avait également rassemblé ses troupes mais il dut faire face à la révolte de Šāhīn Girāy.[31]

Entretemps, profitant de l'absence de la flotte ottomane dans la mer Noire, les *šayqa* cosaques apparaissent brusquement devant Trabzon (Trébizonde) où ils détruisent les navires ancrés dans le port.[32] Ils se rabattent ensuite sur Sinop qui est mise à sac et incendiée. Les Cosaques se retirent chargés de captifs et de butin.[33] La flottille envoyée à leur poursuite les rattrape à l'embouchure du Don où les Ottomans, épaulés par les Tatars, réussissent à reprendre une partie du butin. Quarante prisonniers furent envoyés à Istanbul.[34] De son côté, le *beglerbeg* de Rumeli recevait l'ordre de bâtir d'urgence deux forteresses sur le Boh (Bug, turk. Aq-Ṣu) pour barrer la route aux Cosaques; mais le manque de matériaux de construction et la saison avancée l'obligent à y renoncer.[35] Le saccage de Sinop est le premier choc d'importance ressentie par les Ottomans. A notre connaissance, cette incursion est la première de ce genre enregistrée par les chroniqueurs ottomans. Trois ans plus tard, dans un rapport concernant les Zaporogues, l'ambassadeur de France mentionnait encore l'expédition de Sinop. Il aurait pourtant pu fournir des exemples plus proches.[36]

[28] Hurmuzaki, IV, 1, 1882, p. 549-550, doc. CCCCLXVI.

[29] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, 1895, p. 385-387, doc. CXCVII; A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești* (*Documents concernant l'histoire de la Transylvanie, de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*), Bucarest, 1937, IX (= *Documente* 1937), p. 14-19, docs. 16, 18, 20.

[30] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 388-390, doc. CXCIX.

[31] Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 10-12, 15-16, 22-24, docs. 12, 17, 24.

[32] Cf. Bisaccioni, dans F. Sansovino, *Historia universale dell'origine, guerre, et imperio de Turchi... Accresciuta in questa ultima impressione di varie materie notabili, con le vite di tutti gl'Imperatori Ottomanni fino alli nostri tempi, dal conte Maiolino Bisaccioni*, Venise, 1654, p. 261.

[33] Sansovino, *Historia universale*, p. 261, Kātib Čelebi, *Feẕleke-i tārīḫi*, Istanbul, 1286-1287 H. (1869-1870), I, p. 358; Hurmuzaki, VIII, 1880, p. 364-365, doc. DXXXIV; von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. VIII, p. 206.

[34] Sur l'itinéraire des *šayqa* cosaques par la mer d'Azov, puis par des rivières et finalement transportées par terre jusqu'à la Samara par laquelle elles rejoignaient le Dniepr, voir de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukrainie qui sont plusieurs provinces du royaume de Pologne...*, Rouen, 1660, p. 60.

[35] Kātib Čelebi, *Feẕleke*, I, p. 358.

[36] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 175-176, doc. CCLXVI, rapport de de Sançy au roi du 25 mars 1617.

Début 1616, la Porte doit de nouveau prendre des mesures pour défendre les villes danubiennes. Les Cosaques s'étaient infiltrés assez en amont sur le fleuve car, selon le rapport du *qāḍī* de Nigbolu (Nicopolis), ils s'attaquaient «aux navires marchands et autres dans les parages de Nigbolu et de Silistre». Ils avaient provoqué la panique dans ces régions en tuant, rançonnant et pillant les biens des habitants. On enjoignait au voïévode de Valachie de «mettre en fuite les Cosaques malfaisants ... sans délai ni retard» et «par tous les moyens possibles».[37] Ḥasan Aġa, *muteferriqa* de la cour, résidant à Nigbolu, était chargé de défendre, avec ses hommes, le bord du Danube, de Rusčuq (Ruse) à Feth-i Islām (Kladova).[38] On craignait donc que les *šayqa* cosaques ne montent encore plus haut.

Les Zaporogues participèrent également à l'expédition déclenchée fin 1615 en Moldavie par Wiśniowiecki et Korecki pour installer un autre Movilă, Alexandre.[39] Mais, comme on tardait à leur verser les soldes promises, ils s'en allèrent bientôt après avoir ruiné deux districts moldaves[40] et continuèrent leurs dévastations en Podolie, provoquant ainsi l'indignation du palatin Lanckoroński.[41] Cette intervention des nobles polonais en Moldavie suscita une réaction de la Porte. Au début d'août 1616, Iskender Paša, *beglerbeg* de Bosna (Bosnie), inflige une défaite totale aux Polonais; Korecki et Alexandre sont fait prisonniers. Le trône de Moldavie est alors accordé à Radu Mihnea, ancien voïévode de Valachie qui avait prouvé sa loyauté envers le sultan.

La concentration des troupes ottomanes sur le Danube n'avait pas empêché les Cosaques de frapper une nouvelle fois. D'ailleurs, dès le 30 avril, de Harlay-Sançy le communiquait au roi de France:

Outre le ravage susnommé des Polonois en Moldavie, leurs cosaques en ont faict un autre tres grand à la coste de la mer noire, ou ilz ont pillé et bruslé les villes Balchi-Carnami, Seura [Balčiq, Varna, Mésemvrie], Constangia [Köstenğe, roum. Constanța], toutes villes grandes, belles et riches. On a envoyé

[37] MD, 81, *hüküm* 349, sans date, probablement du 27 Muḥarrem 1025 (15 février 1616).

[38] MD, 81, *hüküm* 350, sans date, probablement même date que le précédent.

[39] De Sançy rapportait le 12 décembre 1615 que, dans les rangs des troupes commandées par les deux ducs, il y avait aussi des Cosaques «qui sont advanturiers sans qu'il y ait parmi eux aulcun officer du roi de Pologne», cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 165-166, doc. CCLVI.

[40] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 391-394, doc. CC, rapport de Tarnowski, châtelain de Sandomir, du 16 février 1616.

[41] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 396-397, doc. CCIII, rapport du 28 février 1616.

d'icy contr'eux quelques galleres et galliotes, mais outre qu'elles aillent plustost pour estre prises que pour prendre, et pour servir de proys que pour la faire. Les lieux ou se retirent les dicts Cosaques sont marécageux et de peu de fondz, de sorte qu'ilz ne les y sçauroient aborder ni les y combatre. Et semble que ceste depesche des dites galleres et galliotes soit plustosr pour trompet le Grand Seigneur que pour faire aucun effet.

Le 28 mai, l'ambassadeur précisait que la flotte dépêchée en mer Noire sous le commandement de Čigala-Zāde comprenait dix galères et quarante «fusiles». Quand aux Cosaques :

apres estre allez y descharger le butin par eulx gagné aux villes qu'ils ont pillées le long de la coste, sont retourner plus fortz que devant pour refaire nouveau pillage.[42]

Il semble que les prévisions de de Sançy sur la futilité de l'expédition de la flotte ottomane s'avérèrent exactes. Piasecki nous apprend que les Cosaques avaient réussi à piller Trabzon et à vaincre Čigala qui fut du reste capturé.[43] Le chroniqueur moldave Miron Costin (1633-1691) reprend les informations fournies par Piasecki et ajoute qu'à cette date — fin 1616 — les Cosaques étaient les vrais maîtres de la mer Noire qu'ils avaient pratiquement «fermée».[44]

Si les incursions cosaques de 1614 avaient amené la Porte à prendre conscience d'un danger réel, celles de 1616 lui avaient démontré que les mesures prises jusqu'alors étaient insuffisantes.

Les Ottomans avaient essayé d'organiser la défense des territoires menacés en fortifiant les villes, en renforçant leurs garnisons et en tenant en alerte les troupes des *sanǧaq* frontaliers dont les chefs respectifs recevaient des ordres dans ce sens presque chaque printemps (1604, 1605, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1614, 1616). Pour seconder les galères, on s'était efforcé de former une flottille de *šayqa* selon le modèle cosaque.

Mais l'existence de forteresses n'avait pas empêché les Cosaques d'incendier les villes et de ravager les campagnes environnantes. Les unités ottomanes locales, tant terrestres que navales étaient insuffisantes et se déplaçaient trop lentement. De plus, la discipline laissait souvent à désirer. En 1605 on enjoignait au *beg* et au *qāḍī* d'Aqkirman de sévir parmi les habitants des villages du *vāqf* et des villages tatars qui ne répondaient pas aux appels qui leur étaient adressés afin qu'ils se présentent en arme devant les Cosaques. Par contre ils s'étaient

[42] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 172-175, doc. CCLXV.
[43] Cf. *Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium*, Cracovie, 1648, p. 297.
[44] Cf. *Letopisețul țării Moldovei...* (*Annales de Moldavie...*), éd. P.P. Panaitescu, Bucarest, 1965, p. 32.

joints aux Tatars de Crimée et aux Nogay pour razzier la Valachie et la Moldavie.[45] Le *beg* de Babadaġ était tenu pour responsable de la discipline de ses hommes, tant à bord de ses embarcations que dans les villes et villages où ils accostaient.[46]

A plusieurs reprises les galères furent envoyées croiser à la hauteur de Kili, d'Aqkirman et d'Özü. Mais elles étaient trop lourdes face aux *šayqa* qui pouvaient se dérober facilement et qui n'engageaient le combat que lorsqu'elles étaient en position de force.[47]

L'expédition organisée contre les Cosaques en 1614 avait échoué de par la lenteur de la concentration ottomane et faute d'un soutien prompt des Tatars de Crimée. Elle servit plutôt d'avertissement à la Pologne.

Pour faire pression sur cette dernière, le sultan avait toujours la possibilité de faire appel aux Tatars afin qu'ils répondent par la pareille aux incursions cosaques. Néanmoins, il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'à cette époque, la Crimée avait une politique propre, en particulier à l'égard de la Pologne et des Impériaux. En effet, par le traité de Ţuţora (Cecora, 1594), Ġāzī Girāy «Bora» s'engageait, en échange d'un «cadeau» annuel, à s'abstenir de toute hostilité envers les Polonais.[48] Son successeur, Selāmet Girāy (1608-1610) garde lui aussi de bons rapports avec la Pologne.[49] C'est seulement avec Ǧānibeg Girāy (1610-1623), khan beaucoup plus docile que ses prédecesseurs envers le sultan, que des raids tatars d'importance recommencent en Pologne.[50] Ces raids présentaient cependant deux inconvénients pour

[45] MD, 77, *hüküm* 381, sans date, probablement du 20 Muḥarrem 1014 (7 juin 1605).

[46] MD, 81, *hüküm* 363, déjà cité.

[47] De Beauplan, *Description d'Ukrainie*, p. 24, 55-61, décrit les *šayqa* et la tactique employée face aux galères. Voir aussi D.I. Evarnickij (Javornyc'kyj), *Istorija zaporožskix Kazakov*, I, p. 454-456. Sur la similitude entre les *šayqa* zaporogues et les monoxyla de l'Etat de Kiev, ainsi que sur les routes empruntées cf. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New-Haven - London, 1973, p. 28-30.

[48] Le tribut consistait en 10000 pièces d'or et en fourrures de prix, cf. Ibrāhīm Pečevi, *Tārīḫ*, in M. Guboglu et M. Mehmed, *Cronici turceşti privind ţările române — Extrase* (*Chroniques turques concernant les pays roumains — Extraits*), Bucarest, 1966, I, p. 521.

[49] Le 20 janvier 1609, le voïévode de Moldavie, Constantin Movilă, écrivait au chancelier de Pologne pour le prévenir de l'arrivée prochaine d'un *čavuš* de Selamet Girāy, «en route pour se rendre chez sa Majesté Royale, afin de consolider l'amitié entre sa Majesté Royale et le Khan des Tartares», cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 354-355, doc. CLXXX.

[50] C'était d'ailleurs l'avis de Żółkiewski en 1617, cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 438-444, doc. CCXV.

la Porte. D'une part, ils n'étaient pas dirigés contre les Zaporogues, les Tatars cherchant avant tout des captifs et du butin qu'ils trouvaient plutôt en Podolie que sur les rapides du Dniepr; d'autre part, ces razzias fournissaient au roi de Pologne un très bon prétexte pour décliner, comme il le fit en 1614, toute responsabilité dans les actes des Cosaques.

Pour sa part, le sultan aurait préféré éviter tout conflit direct avec la Pologne. La Porte n'était d'ailleurs pas en mesure de porter la guerre sur deux fronts. La paix conclue avec les Persans à la fin de 1612, fut compromise par la campagne que le chah mena à l'automne 1614, en Géorgie, rallumant ainsi le conflit. Les efforts fournis par les Ottomans en 1615-1616 pour soutenir cette guerre expliquent en grande partie le fait qu'ils n'aient pas donné suite immédiatement à l'expédition entreprise en 1614 contre les Cosaques.

De même, l'opinion générale polonaise était favorable au maintien de la politique traditionnelle de paix avec la Porte. Dans son discours, prononcé devant la Diète le 27 avril 1616, le chancelier Kryski exprimait ses craintes devant la recrudescence des incursions cosaques auxquelles s'ajoutait l'intervention des nobles des marches du sud en Moldavie. Pour prévenir la riposte ottomane et tatare il fallait, selon lui, arrêter les Cosaques à tout prix.[51] Fin 1616, l'ambassadeur Kochański arrivait à Istanbul pour désavouer l'entreprise des nobles en Moldavie et nier tout rapport entre le royaume et les Cosaques. Il rejetait la responsabilité des actions de ces derniers sur les Tatars.

Mais le sultan ne pouvait plus se contenter de ces explications, d'autant plus que les Zaporogues se manifestèrent de nouveau. Selon un rapport envoyé de Cracovie à Venise le 4 février 1617, les Cosaques avaient attaqué deux villes, saccagé plusieurs villages «alle boucche del Mar Negro» et détruit par la même occasion onze navires (galères et *šayqa*) ottomans.[52]

* * *

Ainsi, au cours de l'année 1617, on assiste à une nouvelle phase de la lutte engagée par la Porte contre les Cosaques. Dans la réponse adressée au roi de Pologne en janvier, le sultan lui propose une expédition commune contre les Zaporogues. Il lui assure que le khan de

[51] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 399-414, doc. CCV.

[52] A. Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi sul vaivoda Gaspare Graziani e la guerra turco-polacca del 1621», *Diplomatarium Italicum, documenti raccolti negli archivi italiani*, III, 1934 (= «Nuovi contributi»), p. 169, doc. IX.

Crimée cessera toute action hostile dès qu'il recevra les «cadeaux» dus aux termes des conventions antérieures.[53]

Au mois d'avril, les voïévodes de Valachie, Moldavie et Transylvanie recevaient l'ordre de se tenir prêts à participer, à la tête de leurs troupes, à la campagne décidée contre les Cosaques. Le khan avait également été invité à concentrer ses forces. Une flotte de 60 à 70 navires se tenait prête à appareiller.[54] En juin, Iskender Paša se trouvait déjà en Valachie.[55] Il avait installé son camp près de la ville de Buzău d'où il faisait savoir au roi de Pologne qu'il avait été nommé commandant en chef des troupes de Budun (Buda), Bosna, Temešvar (Timișvara) et autres *sanğaq* de Rumeli. Il avait également sous ses ordres les *sanğaqbeg* de Silistre, de Vidin, de Qirq-Kilise et de Čirmen, tous les aqinği des rives du Danube, 12 000 fusilliers de Bosna et 40 000 Tatars. L'expédition était dirigée contre les Cosaques, et le *beglerbeg* espérait que les Polonais allaient prendre des mesures en conséquence.[56]

Mais l'avance ottomane fut beaucoup plus lente que ne le sous-entendait la lettre du *beglerbeg*. Cela permit aux Polonais qui étaient par ailleurs en guerre contre la Moscovie, de réunir une armée sous la direction du hetman Żółkiewski. Les Ottomans occupèrent et démolirent le fort de Raškov sur le Dniestr. Pourtant, des deux côtés, on était plutôt disposé à traiter qu'à combattre. Iskender rappela au hetman leur correspondance antérieure, alors qu'il se trouvait encore en Bosna. A cette époque-là, Żółkiewski aurait proposé une collaboration avec l'armée ottomane contre les Cosaques. D'autre part, le sultan avait beaucoup apprécié la position que le hetman avait prise, l'année précédente, envers les nobles intervenus en Moldavie. Dès lors, le paša l'incite en ces termes :

il faut que...vous mainteniez fermement votre résolution et que vous vous efforciez, d'accord avec nous d'esprit et de cœur, de détruire la susdite bande de brigands Cosaques.[57]

Dans sa réponse, Żółkiewski reprend l'explication fournie en 1614 :

En ce qui concerne les Cosaques, nous ne nions pas qu'il y en a beaucoup qui demeurent dans les Etats de sa Majesté Royale; dans le Nyz, sur le Dniepr, il y a eu des Cosaques depuis des temps anciens; tantôt il y en avait moins,

[53] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 419-425, doc. CCVIII, du début janvier 1617.
[54] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 170-171, doc. XVI.
[55] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 171-172, doc. XIX.
[56] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 239-240, doc. 249; Guboglu, *Catalogul*, p. 68, doc. 206 (même document).
[57] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 433-437, doc. CCXIII.

tantôt plus; mais ils n'appartiennent pas tous à notre pays; ces brigands se recrutent aussi parmi d'autres nations... [mais si leur nombre s'accroît], la faute en est aux Tartares qui ont fait des dommages à tant de gens, en incendiant et en pillant leurs fortunes; n'ayant pas de quoi se nourrir, ces gens se sont adressés à ces brigands de Cosaques, en cherchant à se nourrir par des brigandages.

Le hetman était du reste d'accord pour anéantir les Cosaques «qui sont des ennemis communs à vous et à nous, et même, comme des brigands, ceux de toutes les nations»; il se chargerait de ceux se trouvant dans les états du roi, non de ceux du «Niž» car «l'accès par des chemins escarpés est impossible» à l'armée polonaise. Les Ottomans par contre, pourraient les atteindre plus facilement (le hetman faisait probablement allusion à l'accès possible par l'embouchure du Dniepr). En même temps, Żółkiewski insistait sur le fait qu'il lui était difficile d'empêcher les Zaporogues de faire des sorties en mer Noire, ceux-ci ayant la possibilité de passer à travers «le pays Moscovite par le Don» pour gagner la mer d'Azov. Il estime que les Ottomans devraient mieux surveiller le passage d'Azaq.[58]

Le 22 septembre, accompagné des voïévodes des trois pays roumains, Iskender signait avec Żółkiewski la convention de Jaruga. Pour l'essentiel les deux parties tombèrent d'accord et décidèrent de mettre fin aux attaques cosaques et tatares. Ces derniers devaient recevoir, dès l'année suivante «les cadeaux on impôts habituels» que Gabriel Bethlen, voïévode de Transylvanie chiffrait à 15000 ducats. La convention ne devait entrer en vigueur qu'après avoir été ratifiée par le roi et par le sultan, et nécessitait donc un échange d'ambassadeurs.[59]

Entre-temps, pendant l'été 1617, les Cosaques avaient infligé une grave défaite à la flotte envoyée en mer Noire — la nouvelle était connue à Venise le 29 juillet et à Rome le 5 août — 60 bateaux auraient été mis hors de combat et l'amiral obligé de s'enfuir.[60] Le 11 septembre, en plein pourparlers, Iskender eut connaissance des ravages provoqués à Özü par 80 *šayqa* cosaques. Il ne put que le reprocher à Żółkiewski.[61]

Toutefois, on peut estimer qu'en 1617, les Ottomans avaient réussi à marquer un premier point dans la lutte engagée contre les Cosaques. A Jaruga, ils avaient obtenu des Polonais le principe d'une collabo-

[58] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 438-446, docs. CCXV, CCXVI.

[59] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 429-433, doc. CCXII; Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, 1943, p. 871-872, doc. MDCCXXXVI; Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 153-157, doc. 128.

[60] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 174-175, docs. XXVIII, XXXI.

[61] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 426-427, doc. CCX.

ration. La Porte, consciente que les résultats de cette convention se feraient attendre, était décidée à poursuivre parallèlement les opérations. En octobre, Iskender Paša, nommé vizir, était confirmé à son poste de commandant en chef des forces destinées à l'expédition contre les «brigands Cosaques».[62] Il était encore sur le Danube au mois de novembre et écrivait de Rusčuq, au roi de Pologne, pour lui rappeler que le sultan attendait son ambassadeur.[63]

En 1618, on s'efforça surtout de mener à bien le projet de construction de fortifications à l'embouchure du Dniepr afin d'entraver la sortie des barques cosaques.[64] Pour prévenir la riposte polonaise, Iskender insiste pour que la Porte accepte la nomination de Gavril Movilă, protégé de Żółkiewski, comme voïévode, sinon sur le trône de Moldavie, du moins sur celui de Valachie.[65] Gavril aurait prétendu pouvoir obtenir des Polonais l'arrêt de «la descente des Cosaques en ces mers»; de Harlay-Sançy remarque à juste titre que c'est «une grande et difficile promesse et qui pouroit bien tost donné suiect de le priver de son estat».[66] La situation troublée de la Valachie retarda l'expédition. Ce n'est qu'en septembre qu'elle put arriver sur le Dniestr où Żółkiewski l'attendait à la tête des troupes qu'il avait réussi à rassembler. A la fin de ce même mois, les Polonais livrèrent quelques combats contre les Tatars mais l'affrontement fut évité; les deux commandants entendaient continuer la politique amorcée l'année précédente. Le 22 septembre, le sultan enjoignait de nouveau à Iskender de s'occuper de la forteresse prévue sur le Dniepr, mais en fait la

[62] MD, 82, *hüküm* 249, sans date, probablement du 15 Ševvāl 1026 (16 octobre 1617).

[63] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 240-241, doc. 250, du 8 Ẕī'l-qā'de 1026 (8 novembre 1617).

[64] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 176-177, docs. CCLXVIII, CCLXIX, rapports de de Sançy, du 27 janvier et du 24 février 1618. Les 6 et 8 juillet, de Sançy faisait également état d'ordres envoyés aux voïévodes de Valachie et de Moldavie afin qu'ils fournissent respectivement 2000 et 4000 chariots. Cette forteresse sur le Dniestr devait couper «le chemin aux Cosaques de pouvoir descendre en la Mer Noire», cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 180-181, docs. CCLXXIV, CCLXXV. Le *qāḍī* et le *dizdār* de Silistre devaient détacher une partie des hommes de garnison et les envoyer à Özü, cf. MD, 82, *hüküm* 140, du 17 Ǧumādā I 1027 (12 mai 1618). Pour pouvoir aller avec son armée à Özü, le voïevode de Valachie était exempt de contribuer à la réparation de la forteresse de Yerkökü (Giurgiu). Cf. MD, 82, *hüküm* 148, aux *qāḍī* de Yerkökü et de Rusčuq, et au *dizdār* de Yerkökü, sans date, probablement du 6-7 Ǧumādā II 1027 (31 mai - 1 juin 1618).

[65] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, doc. CCLVIII, déjà cité.

[66] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 179-180, doc. CCLXXIII, du 22 juin 1618.

saison était trop avancée pour cela.[67] Un informateur du pape à Istanbul remarquait en novembre qu'en raison de la faiblesse de la flotte en mer Noire, la construction avait également été retardée par le manque de matériaux.[68]

Durant l'été 1618, la Porte dut aussi se préoccuper de la défense du Danube. Les Cosaques avaient réussi à créer de petites bases d'attaque dans le delta, où les roseaux leur assuraient une cachette sûre et où les madragues pouvaient pourvoir à leur nourriture. Le *beglerbeg* d'Özü, assisté du *nāżir* du Danube et du *qāḍī* de Babadaġ, avait reçu mission de détruire les madragues et d'interdire aux *raïa*, dont certains servaient de guide aux Cosaques, d'en construire d'autres.[69] On ordonna aussi la réfaction des forteresses de Yerkökü (Giurgiu), Kili, Bender et Aqkirman.[70]

Enfin, la dernière mesure prise par la Porte en 1618 fut, en novembre, la nomination d'Iskender Paša au poste de *beglerbeg* de Silistre, Bender et Aqkirman.[71] Les forces des *sanǧaq* du bas-Danube et du Buğaq se trouvaient ainsi réunies sous un seul et même commandement.

Pendant les années 1619-1620, les Cosaques continuent leurs attaques comme auparavant. En mai-juin 1619, ils font une sortie en mer Noire; 60 *šayqa* apparaissent devant Trabzon où ils capturent plusieurs bateaux.[72] Début 1620, on craignait même l'arrivée des barques Cosaques à Istanbul.[73] En avril, celles-ci avaient déjà fait une descente en Crimée et, selon Iskender Paša, les Zaporogues disposaient à cette date de quelques 300 barques (navicula).[74]

[67] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 182, doc. CCLXXVII, rapport de de Sançy.

[68] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 189, doc. LXXXV.

[69] MD, 82, *hüküm* 63, sans date, probablement du *gürre* Ramażān 1027 (22 août 1618).

[70] MD, 82, *hüküm* 62, du *ġurre* Ramażān 1027 (22 août 1618), au voïévode de Moldavie pour qu'il se procure le bois de construction et la chaux nécessaires à la réparation des forteresses de Bender, de Kili et d'Aqkirman; ibid., *hüküm* 148, déjà cité, concernant la réfection de Yerkökü.

[71] Hurmazaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 182-183, doc. CCLXXIX, rapport de de Sançy du 20 novembre 1618; Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 189, doc. LXXXV, rapport d'Istanbul du 17 novembre 1618.

[72] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 192-193, docs. XCVI, XCVII, XCIX, rapports d'Istanbul (22 juin 1619) et de Venise (6 juillet et 3 août 1619).

[73] N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Românilor* (*Etudes et documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains*) (cité infra: *Studii și documente*), Bucarest, 1902, IV, préface, p. CXLI.

[74] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 472-473, doc. CCXXV, lettre envoyée d'Istanbul par Otwinowski, le 6 avril 1620.

Ces incursions font échouer les négociations entreprises par l'intermédiaire du voïévode de Moldavie, Graziani, et des ambassadeurs Kochański et Otwinowski à Istanbul.[75] Pourtant, des deux côtés, il existait une réelle volonté d'aboutir à une réglementation. En décembre 1619, au moment où l'envoyé du sultan arrivait à Cracovie pour la confirmation du traité, une nouvelle, vraisemblablement fausse mais exprimant néanmoins un certain état d'esprit, circulait à Venise. Selon cette rumeur, le roi était disposé à verser aux Cosaques une somme annuelle de 40000 florins afin qu'ils mettent un terme à leurs sorties en mer Noire.[76] A la même époque, le roi consentait à envoyer, par l'intermédiaire d'un *čavuš* de la Porte, le «cadeau» exigé par le khan de Crimée.[77]

En août-septembre 1620, Żółkiewski s'était laissé entraîner dans une aventure en Moldavie où il intervint pour soutenir le voïévode Graziani, démis par le sultan. Iskender, fortement soutenu par les Tatars, anéantit l'armée polonaise à Ţuţora. Żółkiewski y laisse la vie; son fils et le hetman du camp, Koniecpolski, sont faits prisonniers. Les Ottomans n'auraient probablement pas donné suite à cette entreprise, comme en 1612 et en 1616, si, au mois de décembre, les Cosaques — un rapport de Varsovie parle, avec beaucoup d'exagération de 50000 hommes — n'avaient ruiné les villes d'Aqkirman et de Kili et leurs alentours. Ils auraient tué tous les habitants ottomans et tatars et libéré un certain nombre de captifs polonais.[78] Dans ces conditions, le sultan ne pouvait plus tergiverser et la guerre fut décidée. Malgré cela, il y avait encore en Pologne des partisans de la négociation, tel le châtelain de Cracovie, G. Zbaraski, qui s'y était rallié devant l'insistance du nouveau voïévode de Moldavie, Alexandre Iliaş.[79] Le 29 mai 1621, il proposait pour la fonction d'ambassadeur, l'italien Felici Bastia qui connaissait personnellement le Grand-Vizir. Mais il faisait dépendre la réussite des discussions de l'attitude des Cosaques :

Puis, je crains que, si même les négociations de paix marchent le mieux possible, elles ne soient rompues par les Cosaques de Zaporogé; il faut donc que Votre Majesté Royale daigne ordonner sans retard à Monsieur le Voïévode de Vilna

[75] Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, préface, p. CXXXVII-CXXXVIII, CXLI-CXLII; Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», introduction, p. 145-148, 150.
[76] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 194-195, doc. CVI.
[77] Guboglu, *Catalogul*, p. 68-69, doc. 207, du Grand-Vizir au voïévode de Transylvanie, sans date, probablement février-novembre 1619.
[78] Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 229, doc. 182.
[79] Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», introduction, p. 155-156.

d'envoyer aux Cosaques les ordres les plus sévères de retourner sur le Dniepr, d'y veiller à ce que les Tatars ne passent plus ce fleuve et de ne faire aucune expédition sur mer ayant pour but de molester les Turcs, que lorsqu'il les en aura avisés; il est certain qu'en procédant autrement, il ne les arrêtera pas.[80] Sigismond III, qui croyait l'affrontement inévitable, avait déjà fait appel aux Zaporogues.[81] Ceux-ci envahirent la Moldavie au mois de mars, provoquant ainsi le mécontement du roi qui redoutait le « mauvais effet » de cette invasion.[82] Il aurait préféré une attaque massive des Cosaques, par mer, et directement sur le territoire ottoman afin de paralyser les actes du sultan.[83] Les Ottomans, qui s'attendaient à ces incursions, avaient armé toutes les embarcations disponibles en mer Noire et sur le Danube.[84] Pourtant, ils ne purent pas empêcher Aḫioli (Pomorie) d'être saccagée et incendiée en juin.[85] De même en septembre, ce fut l'attaque du pont sur le Danube où les 40 galères du *qapudan paša* ne réussirent à repousser les 80 *šayqa* cosaques qu'après deux heures de combat.[86] On comprend mieux ainsi l'acharnement avec lequel le sultan fit mettre à mort, à Isaqča, les quelques Cosaques capturés par les galères.[87]

A Hotin (Xotyn), les Ottomans purent enfin combattre les Zaporogues, présents en grand nombre. Le 22 septembre, Jacob Sobieski écrivait, à leur sujet, au duc de Zbaraž : « ils rendent de grands services à l'armée, sans eux il nous serait très difficile... [de résister] ».[88] A cette date, il semble que le roi avait réussi à s'assurer un certain contrôle sur les Cosaques. Le hetman P. Sahajdačnyj, qui les dirigeait à Hotin, était

80 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 509-515, doc. CCXXXII.

81 Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», introduction, p. 156-157.

82 Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 204, doc. CXXXIV, rapport du nonce Francesco Diotalleni, du 16 avril 1621.

83 Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 204, doc. CXXXIV déjà cité; pour les rumeurs qui circulaient à Venise et à Istanbul, cf. Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 207-208, docs. CXLI, CXLIII, CXLIV.

84 Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 207, 213, docs. CXLIII, CLVIII; Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, préface, p. CXLV.

85 Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, vol. I, p. 404.

86 Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 217-218, doc. CLXV.

87 Qara Čelebi Zāde, *Ravżāt ül ebrār*, in Guboglu et Mehmed, *Cronici turceşti*, p. 556; Mesrobeanu, «Nuovi contributi», p. 215, doc. CLXI; l'un des mercenaires français qui accompagnait le sultan rapporte à de Césy que lorsque ʿOsmān II arriva à la rivière Prut «ce jour la il luy fut presenté cinquante Cosaques que les galeres avoient pris, dans les barques desquelz en la presence de sa Hautesse l'on feit un sacrifice qu'Ilz appellent Corban et quatre jours durant la mesme chose tant que ces pauvres miserables ont duré», cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 189-191, doc. CCXCIII.

88 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 515-522, doc. CCXXXIII.

un noble de Galicie qui, avant de devenir leur chef en août 1621, avait rempli la charge de colonel de Kiev.[89]

La campagne de Hotin se termina par l'épuisement des deux camps, sans succès prédominant d'un côté ni de l'autre. Le traité de paix établi n'apportait aucun élément nouveau par rapport à la convention de Jaruga; c'était un échec pour la Porte. Après cinq ans de grands efforts, tant militaires que diplomatiques, le problème cosaque en était toujours au même point.

* * *

Cependant, entre les mois d'octobre 1621 et d'août 1623, nous n'avons relevé qu'une seule attaque des Zaporogues, celle du printemps 1622, à la suite de laquelle plusieurs villes d'Anatolie furent mises à sac.[90] On serait d'abord tenté de chercher l'explication de cette brusque retombée de l'activité des Cosaques dans l'ambassade du duc Krzysztof Zbaraski à Istanbul. Celui-ci y arrive en effet en novembre 1622 et n'en repart que fin février 1623.[91] Il a des rapports très difficiles avec le Grand-Vizir Ğürği Meḥmed Paša et, pour arriver à un résultat, il le menace d'une expédition de « mille barques » cosaques contre Istanbul.[92] Pourtant, la présence d'ambassadeurs polonais à Istanbul n'avait jamais empêché les Zaporogues d'attaquer. Pour sa part, la Porte avait peu confiance dans les négociations. Elle prit donc des mesures contre de probables incursions cosaques et ordonna que des « frégates » du Danube et des bords de la mer Noire se joignent aux galères parties d'Istanbul.[93]

Au mois de juillet, on savait à Istanbul que les Cosaques s'étaient révoltés contre les Polonais. La nouvelle fut bientôt confirmée par un envoyé polonais. Les Cosaques orthodoxes avaient effectivement pris les

[89] Cf. E. Borschak, *La légende historique de l'Ukraine : Istorija Rusov*, Paris, 1949, p. 104-105.

[90] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 522-524, doc. CCXXXIV, lettre du voïévode de Moldavie au roi de Pologne, du 14 juin 1622.

[91] von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. VIII, p. 339-341; Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 191-193, 203-204, docs. CCXCIV, CCCIII, rapports de de Césy du 13 novembre et du 5 mars 1623.

[92] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 195-196, 200-202, docs. CCXCVII, CCCI, lettres de de Césy du 11 décembre 1622 et du 23 janvier 1623.

[93] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 203-205, 207, docs. CCCIII, déjà cité, CCCIV, CCCVI, de Césy au roi, le 19 mars et le 30 avril 1623.

armes pour défendre leur foi contre les évèques uniates.[94] Mais cette révolte, de peu d'ampleur, ne concernait que les Cosaques « enregistrés » et non les Zaporogues, encore peu sensibles aux problèmes religieux.[95]

Nous pensons que la raison principale de l'affaiblissement des activités cosaques se trouve ailleurs. Pendant la campagne de Hotin, 'Osmān II avait accordé le poste de *beglerbeg* de Silistre, Bender-Aqkirman et Özü, à un même personnage, Kantemir-Mīrzā, chef du clan nogay des Mansur.[96] Ce dernier, devenu ainsi Kantemir-Paša, réunissait sous son commandement tout le territoire s'étendant de l'embouchure du Dniepr à celle du Danube, avec en outre le *sanǧaq* de Silistre. Il s'agissait donc des régions les plus fréquemment attaquées par les Cosaques. Mais l'importance de cette nomination réside surtout dans le fait, qu'en dehors des troupes ottomanes locales, il était le chef des Nogays et avait trouvé sur place un grand nombre de Tatars qui s'étaient ralliés à ses hommes.[97]

Dans les steppes pontiques la Porte avait ainsi réussi, plus ou moins consciemment, à renverser le rapport des forces en sa faveur. Jusqu'alors, elle ne pouvait opposer, comme riposte adéquate aux Cosaques, que les Tatars de Crimée. Maintenant elle disposait aussi des Nogays de Kantemir. Celui-ci s'érige immédiatement en défenseur des intérêts du sultan et prétend rompre tout lien de vassalité avec le khan.[98] Nous avons vu que la Pologne pouvait traiter directement avec le khan de Crimée, ce qui lui était impossible avec Kantemir.

[94] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 211-212, 214, docs. CCCXI, CCCIV, rapports de de Césy des 9 et 23 juillet 1623.

[95] Cf. Borschak, *La légende hist. de l'Ukraine*, p. 83-84, 95-96.

[96] von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. VIII, p. 280; V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Otomanskoj Porty do načala XVIII v.* (*Le khanat de Crimée sous la suzeraineté de la Porte ottomane avant le début du XVIII^e siècle*), Saint-Petersbourg, 1887, p. 490-492; A.A. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba moskovskogo gosudarstva s Tatarami v XVII veke* (*Lutte de l'état de Moscou contre les Tatars au XVIII^e siècle*) (= *Bor'ba*), Moscou-Léningrad, 1949, p. 101.

[97] L'arrivée des Tatars en Buǧaq en Dobroudja est bien antérieure au XVII^e siècle. Les Ottomans avaient toujours essayé de les contrôler et de les encadrer (voir des exemples dans ce sens, pour la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle, dans mon article sur «Le problème des 'Cosaques' dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle», *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 1972, XIII, 3, p. 339-345). Sur les Tatars d'Aqkirman, voir aussi Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 101. De Sançy rapportait en mai 1618, l'installation récente de «quinze milles Tatars» entre les embouchures du Dniepr et du Dniestr, cf. Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 178-179, doc. CCLXXII.

[98] Sur Kantemir voir: Iorga, *Studii istorice*, p. 222-227; Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 93, 100-101, 110, 114, 119-120, 134-137, 182-189, 242-249.

Les Polonais avaient appris à connaître Kantemir depuis un certain temps déjà. C'est lui qui, en 1618, avait attaqué, sans attendre l'ordre d'Iskender, le camp de Żółkiewski; il lui avait porté quinze assauts successifs avant l'arrivée du *qalġa* et des renforts.[99] Son intervention à Ţuţora, en 1620, fut décisive.[100] Sa brillante participation à la campagne de Hotin lui avait amené les faveurs du sultan.[101]

Tout de suite après sa nomination, il commence à razzier systématiquement les territoires polonais.[102] C'est pourquoi, pendant son ambassade, Zbaraski pose avec insistance comme condition préliminaire à toute négociation, la déposition de Kantemir ainsi que son éloignement, et celui de ses hommes, de régions si proches du royaume.[103] Le Grand-Vizir Ğürği Meḥmed Paša refuse d'engager toute discussion à ce sujet; mais son successeur, Mere Ḥüseyn Paša, est partisan d'une réglementation diplomatique. Il craint que les incursions incessantes de Kantemir ne compromettent la conclusion de la paix. En mars 1623, le Grand-Vizir est même sur le point d'ordonner la pendaison du courrier qui lui avait apporté la nouvelle d'une razzia tatare en Pologne.[104] Le nouveau khan, Meḥmed Girāy, qui quitte Istanbul fin avril-début mai, avec une flotte de galères qui devait l'accompagner à Kefe (Kafa), a l'instruction expresse d'empêcher dorénavant Kantemir d'effectuer la moindre «course» en territoire polonais.[105] Les abandons de la Porte vont encore plus loin. De Césy rapporte le 31 juillet au roi de France que :

demain doit partir un chaoux qui va en Pologne desavouer les courses du Tartare Cam Themire et porter aux Polonois une permission d'entrer dans le païs du Grand Seigneur ou reside Cam Themir pour le defaire s'ils peuvent, avec un commandement aux princes de Moldavie et de Valachie de se joindre pour cet effet avec les Polonnois.[106]

[99] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 451-463, doc. CCXIX, description de cette bataille faite par Tarnowski qui y prit part.
[100] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 490-509, doc. CCXXXI, description faite par un témoin anonyme. M. Na'īmā, *Tarih*, éd. Z. Danişman, Istanbul, 1968, p. 727-732.
[101] Na'īmā, *Tarih*, éd. Danişman, p. 749-755.
[102] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 194-195, docs. CCXCV, CCXCVI, rapports de de Césy du 27 novembre 1622; Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 398-399, docs. CCCCXLIV, CCCCXLV, rapports vénitiens des 10 et 23 décembre 1622.
[103] Voir les documents déjà cités, note 102.
[104] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, doc. CCCIV, déjà cité.
[105] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 208-209, 210, docs. CCCVII, CCCIX, lettres de de Césy du 4 mai et du 23 juin 1623.
[106] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 215, doc. CCCXV.

Entretemps, à peine arrivé en Crimée Meḥmed Girāy était déjà parti en campagne pour rappeler à l'ordre le chef nogay. Il rencontre probablement quelque résistance car il n'est de retour qu'en septembre-octobre. Mais Kantemir et ses hommes l'accompagnaient.[107]

Il est surprenant de voir la promptitude avec laquelle les incursions cosaques recommencent. Ainsi, dès le mois d'août, quelques 800 Zaporogues, à bord de quinze *šayqa* saccagent Samsun.[108] Le nouveau sultan, Murād IV, envisage un moment la possibilité de refaire appel à Kantemir. De Césy écrivait le 15 octobre :

> Cantemir a esté restabli ces jours cy dans son gouvernement de Silistre et costes de la mer noire, vers les embouchures du Danube; de manière, Sire, qu'il n'y a encore ny paix n'y guerre entre ce Seigneur et les Polognois.[109]

Informée des concentrations de troupes polonaises à la frontière, la Porte se ravise. En décembre, il est demandé au khan d'installer quelqu'un d'autre à la place de Kantemir.[110] Le court délai entre la nomination et la révocation de ce dernier rend très improbable sa présence effective à Silistre à l'automne 1623. D'ailleurs, en connaissant la méfiance de Meḥmed Girāy envers le chef nogay, on peut estimer que l'ordre envoyé en octobre avait peu de chance d'être appliqué.

En juin-juillet 1624, une ambassade polonaise arrive à Istanbul avec la ratification du traité établi l'année précédente. Un mois plus tard, avait lieu la première attaque des *šayqa* cosaques sur les bords du Bosphore.

* * *

Durant les années 1624-1628, le problème cosaque se confond en partie avec un autre, beaucoup plus grave pour la Porte, celui de ses rapports avec le khanat de Crimée. Au cours de l'année 1624, le sultan nomme de nouveau Ǧānibeg Girāy khan de Crimée. Mais Meḥmed Girāy et son frère, le *qalġa* Šāhīn Girāy, s'opposent au désir de la Porte. Après avoir gravement vaincu le corps expéditionnaire ottoman, ils s'emparent de Kefe. Reğeb, le *qapudan paša*, réussit à leur faire rendre la ville et les prisonniers ottomans; en échange, il dut les reconduire

107 Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 110.
108 Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 218-219, doc. CCCXIX, rapport du 3 septembre 1623.
109 Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 226, doc. CCCXXVI.
110 Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 403, doc. CCCCL, rapport du baile du 23 octobre 1623.

dans leurs fonctions au nom du sultan.[111] En fait, les deux frères avaient ainsi affirmé leur indépendance envers la Porte.

Parmi les forces réunies par Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy, il existait une unité cosaque, peu nombreuse, mais armée de fusils.[112] Fin juillet, alors que les galères de la mer Noire sont immobilisées à Kefe, les Zaporogues attaquent les bords du Bosphore où ils ravagent et incendient Büyükdere et Yeniköy. Ils se retirent ensuite chargés de butin, sans être nullement inquiétés par les embarcations armées en hâte, pas plus que par les troupes sorties d'Istanbul.[113] Pendant ce temps, Kantemir qui avait compté parmi les quelques partisans de Ǧānibeg Girāy, réussit à s'enfuir de Crimée.[114] Il prend immédiatement l'initiative (juin-juillet) d'écrire au roi de Pologne une sorte d'ultimatum dans lequel il le somme de faire en sorte que les Cosaques cessent leurs sorties en mer Noire. Pour appuyer cette exigence, il déclare que lui et ses hommes sont capables, au cas où ils n'obtiendraient pas satisfaction, de mener une expédition jusqu'à la mer Baltique, et cela même sans l'accord du sultan et du Grand-Vizir.[115] Kantemir n'eut pas le loisir de mettre ses menaces à exécution car Šāhīn Girāy était à sa poursuite.

En septembre-octobre, le *qalġa* razzie la Moldavie et la Valachie, de même que des villes et des villages ottomans du Buǧaq et de la Dobroudja.[116] Simultanément, les Cosaques saccagent Ismā'īl et Ibrā'īl (Brăila) sur le Danube.[117] Pourtant, ce n'est qu'en janvier-février 1625 que Kantemir est vaincu près d'Aqkirman. Il est obligé de suivre Šāhīn Girāy en Crimée où il sera retenu jusqu'en 1627.[118] Pour cette nouvelle expédition, le *qalġa* avait demandé le soutien des Zaporogues et, à cette fin, il leur avait envoyé des présents (moutons, bovins, vin et blé).[119]

[111] von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. IX, 1837, p. 46-54; Smirnov, *Krymskoe xanstvo*, p. 483-490; Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 111-114.

[112] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 112.

[113] Kātib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, II, p. 61; Na'īmā, *Tarih*, éd. Danişman, p. 900; von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. IX, p. 28, 54-56.

[114] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 114.

[115] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 255-256, doc. 263, sans date, probablement juin-juillet 1624.

[116] Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, préface, p. CLI-CLIII; p. 184, 185, docs. XXXIV, XXXVI, rapports hollandais d'Istanbul, du 30 septembre et du 10 novembre 1624; Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 527-528, doc. CCXXXVIII, lettre du voïévode de Moldavie au roi de Pologne, du 13 septembre 1624; Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 404, docs. CCCCLII, CCCCLIII, rapports du baile des 1 et 15 octobre 1624.

[117] Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, préface, p. CLIII; p. 185, doc. XXXV, rapport hollandais du 15 octobre 1624.

[118] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 406-407, doc. CCCCLVIII, rapport du baile vénitien du 5 janvier 1625; Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 114.

[119] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 114.

S'agit-il d'une véritable « alliance », d'un plan commun selon lequel Tatars de Crimée et Zaporogues auraient collaboré en 1624 et les années suivantes?[120] Le fait que Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy aient fait appel aux Cosaques prouve seulement qu'à cette époque les questions religieuses et nationales avaient encore peu de poids. Le khan et le *qalġa*, décidés à affronter la puissance ottomane avaient donc cherché un soutien là où ils pouvaient le trouver.

En septembre-octobre 1624, un *qapuǧi-baši* du sultan porte à Meḥmed Girāy les insignes de sa confirmation. Le khan prétexte que les Tatars sont entrés en Moldavie et en Valachie à son insu et promet leur retrait immédiat.[121] En mars 1625, un envoyé de Šāhīn Girāy arrive à la Porte pour expliquer que la dernière incursion n'était destinée qu'à obliger Kantemir à regagner la Crimée. Le *qalġa* proteste aussi de son dévouement « ferme et constant envers la Maison ottomane ».[122] Le baile vénitien avait rapporté au mois de novembre de l'année précédente et en janvier 1625, que les Ottomans redoutaient une entente du khan, et surtout du *qalġa*, avec les Persans, les Polonais et les Cosaques.[123] C'est probablement cette crainte qui détermine, dans une certaine mesure, l'attitude conciliante de la Porte. Du début de l'année 1625 jusqu'à la fin de 1627, nous verrons Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy se comporter, non sans méfiance, en alliés du sultan.

Il est évident que les événements de 1624 en Crimée ont favorisé les incursions cosaques. Au printemps 1625, deux flottilles de šayqa font une sortie en mer Noire.[124] Selon Kātib Čelebi, une grande bataille navale avait eu lieu en novembre dans les eaux de Qara Ḫarman (Vadu), au large de la Dobroudja. Profitant du calme plat qui handicapait les galères, les *šayqa* les avaient attaquées et ce n'est que grâce au vent qui s'était brusquement levé, que le *qapudan-paša* Reǧeb put vaincre ses assaillants.[125] Les actions des Cosaques provoquent l'inquiétude de la Pologne. La chatelain de Cracovie, Zbaraski, ayant eu connaissance d'une entrevue entre le *beg* de Silistre et le khan, et redoutant la mise sur pied d'une expédition, communique cette nouvelle au roi en septembre. Il est peu rassuré car, dit-il,

[120] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 113-114.
[121] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 405, doc. CCCCLIV, rapport du baile du 24 octobre 1624.
[122] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 408, doc. CCCCLX, rapport du baile du 23 mars 1625.
[123] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 406-407, docs. CCCCLVI, CCCCLVIII.
[124] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 114.
[125] Kātib Čelebi, *Feẕleke*, vol. II, p. 72-74.

on ne sait pas encore ce que, dans un avenir prochain, les Cosaques peuvent faire sur mer; contre eux, il ne suffit pas d'agir par des commissions, mais par le sabre, parceque toutes ces commissions... n'ont pour résultat que d'augmenter l'insolence des Cosaques».[126]

Au printemps 1626, une razzia tatare a effectivement lieu en Podolie, mais le khan est repoussé et subit des pertes sévères. Il prévient la Porte d'une sortie prochaine des «400 šayqa» cosaques.[127] Diak Meḥmed Paša, *beg* de Silistre, corroborait lui aussi cette nouvelle.[128]

En décembre, de grands préparatifs sont entrepris à Istanbul afin d'armer la flotte.[129] On projetait, pour l'année suivante, une expédition dirigée par le *qapudan-paša.* Dès janvier 1627, on savait que les voïévodes de Moldavie et de Valachie et Šāhīn Girāy devaient y participer.[130] Pour tenter d'enrayer ce projet, un envoyé polonais arrive au printemps à Istanbul. Il est porteur d'une lettre adressée au sultan, dans laquelle, Sigismond III lui rapelle que «depuis quarante ans, il a fermement maintenu l'amitié» avec la Porte. La meilleure preuve en serait l'expédition effectuée l'année précédente contre les Cosaques. Ceux-ci auraient été détruits, leurs barques incendiées et les survivants auraient «juré qu'il n'iraient plus jamais dans la mer Noire.» Le sultan réfute ces arguments car, selon lui, ce ne fut qu'après la victoire remportée par son *qapudan-paša* sur les *šayqa* cosaques (il s'agit vraisemblement de la bataille de Qara Ḫarman) que, l'armée polonaise est intervenue contre les «fuyards». D'autre part, il montre que:

tout récemment, contrairement à notre traité, ces mêmes brigands sont sortis du Dniepr dans la mer Noire sur soixante nacelles et ont fait inopinément de grands dommages dans nos états situés sur les bords de la mer et aux marchands qui y naviguaient. Lorsque nos oreilles impériales l'eurent entendu, nous avons envoyé l'armée de mer dont la Porte disposait alors, composée de quarante galères, pour exterminer ces maudits brigands. Avec l'aide de Dieu, une quinzaine ou une vingtaine de nacelles sont tombées entre nos mains; les autres se sont dispersées sur la mer et ont échappé; jusqu'à présent, ils ne cessent de faire des dommages aux marchands et aux citoyens de la contrée.

C'est pourquoi, des lettres impériales ont été envoyées à Meḥmed et à Šāhīn Girāy afin qu'ils se chargent de riposter. Pourtant le sultan,

[126] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 530-531, doc. CCXL, de septembre 1625.
[127] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 414, doc. CCCCLXVII, rapport du baile vénitien du 5 avril 1626.
[128] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 415-416, doc. CCCCLXIX, rapport du baile du 19 avril 1626.
[129] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 416-417, doc. CCCCLXXI, rapport du baile du 29 décembre 1626.
[130] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 417, doc. CCCCLXXII, rapport du baile du 28 janvier 1627.

pour «montrer la sincérité de [son] amitié» répond au message du roi :

A la réception de cette lettre, il faut que Votre Honneur donne à la Sublime Porte de Notre Puissance des preuves de sa sincérité et de son obéissance, afin de maintenir la paix établie par les traités, et ce en empêchant efficacement ces brigands de Cosaques de faire des incursions sur la Mer Noire et d'y causer des dommages. De notre part, lorsque vous ne contreviendrez plus aux traités, lorsque les Cosaques ne feront plus de dommages dans nos châteaux, dans nos villages et dans nos provinces et lorsque les cadeaux en usage depuis longtemps seront remis au khan des Tartares, la populace tartare n'aura plus aucun prétexte et l'amitié et la paix seront consolidées et ne pourront plus être lésées en rien; au contraire, avec l'aide de Dieu, l'amitié de Notre Puissance à l'égard de Votre Honneur augmentera de jour en jour et vous apportera des biens toujours plus grands et inespérés.[131]

En conséquence, l'envoyé polonais doit regagner son pays et y chercher auprès du roi une proposition «suffisante et définitive». Le sultan enjoint au *beglerbeg* d'Özü et au voïévode de Moldavie d'empêcher toute incursion en territoire polonais jusqu'au retour de l'ambassadeur.[132]

De la lettre impériale envoyée à Sigismond III, ressort également le fait que le sultan est conscient du rôle joué par Kantemir et les Nogays dans la lutte contre les Cosaques. Il rappelle au roi qu'il avait lui-même demandé au khan de «détruire» Kantemir et de «transporter» en Crimée les Tatars du Buğaq. A cette époque-là, il avait estimé qu'en retour, les incursions cosaques devraient être arrêtées. Mais il fait remarquer au roi que :

Contre toute attente, c'est le contraire qui est arrivé. Après la défaite de Cantimir, les Cosaques, dont la puissance a augmenté, sont entrés dans la Mer Noire avec un grand nombre de nacelles et ont fait des dommages considérables aux sujets de nos Etats.[133]

Le projet d'expédition qui devait aboutir à la construction de fortifications à l'embouchure du Dniepr, n'en fut pas abandonné pour autant. En juin 1627, des unités des *sanğaq* de Nigbolu, Vidin, Qırq Kilise, Silistre, Selanik (Thessalonique) reçoivent l'instruction de partir pour Özü où elles devront se mettre aux ordres de Ḥasan *qapudan-paša*.[134] Les *qāḍī* d'Ibrā'īl et d'Aqkirman ont la mission de transporter

[131] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 577-583, doc. CCLXI, lettre impériale du sultan au roi de Pologne, probablement de mai 1627.

[132] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 537-538, doc. CCLIII, ordre au voïévode de Moldavie, de mai 1627 (copie adressée au *beglerbeg* d'Özü).

[133] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, doc. CCLXI, déjà cité.

[134] MD, 83, *hüküm* 2, aux *qāḍī* de Nigbolu, Silistre et Qirq-Kilise, du 22 Ramaẓān 1036 (6 juin 1627); *hüküm* 3, aux *qāḍī* de Silistre, Nigbolu et Vidin, sans date,

à Özü du bois de construction provenant de Moldavie,[135] et le *dizdār* de Kili celle de se procurer de la poudre à canon, des cordes et des outils.[136]

Le 4 juillet, Miron Barnovschi Movilă, le voïévode de Moldavie, est à Bender d'où il écrit à Chmielecki, colonel du roi en Ukraine, que le *qapudan-paša* se trouve à Kili.[137] Arrivé à Özü, le voïévode prévient, le 11 juillet, son correspondant, que Ḥasan Paša est déjà en possession de forces suffisantes pour mettre sa mission à exécution.[138] Le mouvement se précise au milieu du mois. Selon Barnovschi, Ḥasan Paša disposait d'une flotte composée de dix galères, 250 «nacelles» et de quelques 300 autres «nacelles» dépêchées de la mer Méditerranée. Les voïévodes de Valachie et de Moldavie se sont joints aux «nombreuses» troupes ottomanes et on attend maintenant que le khan traverse le Dniestr pour se mettre en marche. Mais le plus grave pour les Polonais est que: «Kantymir-pacha est passé avec toute sa famille aux Budiaks [Buğaq] et a commencé à réunir des troupes».[139] Devant les concentrations polonaises, le *qapudan-paša* modifie le plan initial selon lequel il devait bâtir une forteresse à Doġan-Gečidi et commence des fortifications à Özü. Par l'intermédiaire du voïévode de Moldavie, des pourparlers sont engagés et, vers le 25 juillet, l'envoyé du roi arrive pour commencer les négociations.[140] A cette date, il est ordonné aux *qāḍī* d'Aqkirman et de Kili de s'opposer à toute incursion en territoire polonais.[141]

Deux mois plus tard, on aboutit à un nouveau compromis. Les Polonais obtiennent l'abandon du projet de construction de fortifications sur le Dniepr ailleurs qu'à Özü. Une trêve d'un an est alors décidée afin de permettre aux deux parties de résoudre leurs différents par voie diplomatique. Les Ottomans promettent, pour ce laps de

probablement du 2 Ševvāl 1036 (16 juin 1627); *hüküm* 26, au *muteferriqa* de *gedüklü* des *sanğaq* de Silistre, Nigbolu et Vidin, du 5 Ševvāl 1036 (19 juin 1627); *hüküm* 27, aux *qāḍī* de Selanik, Silistre et Vidin, même date; *hüküm* 28, aux *qāḍī* de Silistre, Vidin et Nigbolu, du 6 Ševvāl 1037 (20 juin 1627); *hüküm* 44, au *qāḍī* d'Ismā'īl, sans date, vraisemblablement du 12 Ševvāl 1036 (26 juin 1627).

135 MD, 83, *hüküm* 29, du 12 Ševvāl 1036 (26 juin 1627); *hüküm* 40, sans date, vraisemblablement même date.

136 MD, 83, *hüküm* 47, du 14 Ševvāl 1036 (28 juin 1627).

137 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 539-540, doc. CCXLIV.

138 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 540-541, doc. CCXLV.

139 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 543-546, docs. CCXLVII, CCXLVIII, du 17 juillet 1627.

140 Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 546-553, docs. CCXLIX-CCLII, du 23 juillet 1627.

141 MD, 83, *hüküm* 8.

temps, l'arrêt des incursions tatares, à condition qu'il en aille de même pour les Cosaques. Dans le but d'interdire tout mouvement aux Tatars, le *qapudan-paša* laisse à Özü, à Kili et à Aqkirman des forces importantes.[142] Les Polonais doivent pourtant accepter la réinstallation de Kantemir près de leurs frontières. En août, ce dernier s'était rendu auprès du sultan à Istanbul.[143] Sans obtenir des fonctions similaires à celles qu'il avait en 1621, il reçut tout de même l'autorisation de rentrer dans le Buğaq avec ses Nogays. Les Ottomans avaient de nouveau un moyen de pression efficace contre la Pologne.

Mais les troupes ottomanes restées sur place et les Nogays de Kantemir pouvaient éventuellement se retourner contre la Crimée. Šāhīn Girāy, qui veut écarter cette menace, entreprend en février 1628 une expédition contre le chef nogay. Après avoir essuyé un revers, Kantemir, soutenu par les Ottomans, réussit à le vaincre. Fin avril les rôles sont inversés et ce sont les Nogays qui prennent l'initiative d'attaquer la Crimée. Le khan et le *qalġa* sont assiégés à Bahče Sarāy au mois de mai; les quelques milliers de Cosaques qui viennent à leur secours sont battus et leur hetman est tué. Mais cette diversion avait permis aux Čerkes de rejoindre Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy. Devant la supériorité de ses adversaires, Kantemir doit se réfugier à Kefe.[144] C'est également à Kefe qu'arrive, à la fin du mois de juin, la flotte ottomane avec Ğānibeg et Devlet Girāy respectivement nommés khan et *qalġa* par la Porte.[145] C'est alors que les clans tatars abandonnent. Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy qui sont obligés de s'enfuir. Avec l'aide des

[142] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 559-566, docs. CCLIV, CCLV, lettre de Barnovschi à Chmielecki, du 14 septembre 1627; rapport sur sa mission auprès de Ḥasan Paša, par Chocimirski, du 24 septembre 1627. Ibrāhīm Paša, ancien *beglerbeg* d'Özü, reçoit le commandement des troupes laissées dans le *sanğaq* d'Aqkirman, cf. MD, 83, *hüküm* 84, du 10 Muḥarrem 1037 (21 septembre 1627); *hüküm* 106, sans date, probablement du 18 Muḥarrem 1037 (29 septembre 1627); Meḥmed Paša, *beglerbeg* d'Özü, doit assurer la défense de la région avec les troupes et la flotte restées sur place, cf. MD, 83, *hüküm* 109, sans date, probablement même date. Les *qāḍī* de Fetḥ i-Islām, Hiršova (Hîrşova) et Tulča (Tulcea) ont l'ordre d'envoyer des *šayqa* pour la flottile d'Özü, cf. MD, 83, *hüküm* 110, même date.

[143] MD, 83, *hüküm* 13, aux *qāḍī* qui se trouvent sur la route d'Özü à Istanbul, du 26 Ẕī'l-qa'de 1036 (8 août 1627).

[144] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 119-120.

[145] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 120; MD, 83, *hüküm* 88, ordre au *qapudan-paša* Ḥasan, du evāsit Ševvāl 1037 (13-22 juin 1628); *hüküm* 120, lettre impériale adressée aux *beg* et aux *mīrzā* nogays, du 27 Ševvāl 1037 (1 juillet 1628); *hüküm* 121 et 122, lettres impériales adressées à Meḥmed et à Šāhīn Girāy pour leur apprendre leur déposition, du 28 Ševvāl 1037 (2 juillet 1628).

Cosaques qui avaient l'accord tacite de la Pologne,[146] les deux frères essayent, à l'automne 1628 et au printemps 1629, d'occuper la Crimée. Ils sont cependant repoussés à chaque fois par le nouveau khan et par Kantemir.[147]

En imposant Ǧānibeg Girāy comme khan, la Porte consolidait sa position en Crimée. Elle pouvait maintenant combattre plus aisément les Cosaques.

* * *

Ainsi qu'il était facilement prévisible, la convention de septembre 1627 n'a pas mis fin aux incursions cosaques. Dès le 15 octobre, le voïévode de Moldavie, qui était en quelque sorte garant de cet accord, protestait auprès du châtelain de Sieradz et du roi contre la sortie de «86 nacelles» cosaques en mer Noire et contre les «patrouilles» envoyées par les «fermiers des confins» qui, «sous prétexte de prendre des informations ...prennent le bétail et les troupeaux des Turcs et des Tatars».[148]

[146] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 134; Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 262-263, docs. 270, 271, lettre impériale au roi de Pologne, du *evāsiṭ* Ẕī'l-qa'de 1037 (13-22 juin 1628), et lettre de Reǧeb Paša au roi, sans date, probablement même date. Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 554-559, doc. CCLIII, lettre de Zbaraski au chancelier Zadzik, du 9 septembre 1627 [vraisemblablement de septembre 1628], qui est concluante sur l'accord des Polonais à l'intervention des Cosaques pour soutenir Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy. Nous citons: «...il faut prendre toutes les précautions possibles pour que les Turcs ne puissent avoir contre nous aucune preuve qu'on avait ordonné aux Cosaques d'aider Szahin-Gherey; ...Aux envoyés Cosaques également, il ne faut donner aucun ordre par écrit mais seulement communiquer verbalement à tous les envoyés ou à l'un d'eux ce qu'on aura à leur recommander. Je vois qu'ils y sont, eux-mêmes bien disposés ainsi que la copie de la lettre à Sa Majesté Royale le prouve; à moi aussi, ils m'ont écrit qu'il faut rétablir Szahin-Gherey sur le trône et porter le trouble parmi les Tartares; le moment y est opportum et ces simples paysans donnent un si bon conseil que feu Jules César lui-même n'aurait pu en donner de meilleur; seulement, il faut l'exécuter le plus tôt possible... Mais dans cette affaire, il ne faut se servir que des Cosaques; j'insiste sur ce point, parcequ'ils y suffiront; ils se réuniront en masse, car maintenenant beaucoup de gens d'Ukraïne se rendent en Zaporogé; ils iront en tabor, bien armés de fusils, ayant de bons canons; les Tartares ne pourront leur faire aucun mal; qu'ils y guerroient le plus possible et tout cela tournera à notre profit; parceque, même s'ils rétablissent Szahin-Gherey sur le trône, ce sera à notre avantage, le nouveau Khan étant forcé de se souvenir du bienfait qu'on lui aura fait, puisque en cas d'accident, il n'aura d'autre refuge que chez nous; il est très hostile aux Turcs et la confiance réciproque ne se rétablira entre eux jamais; dans le cas où les Cosaques ne réussiraient pas immédiatement à rétablir le pouvoir de Szahin-Gherey, l'affaire ne pourrait se passer «sine summo cruore» et sans de grandes pertes pour les Tartares, ce qui nous assurerait une plus grande tranquillité de ce côté là; si même une grande quantité de Cosaques devait y périr, ce serait encore à notre profit, car plus d'une fois nous avons été alarmés de leur part».

[147] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 134-137.

[148] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 566-572, docs. CCLVI, CCLVII.

Au printemps 1628, la Porte décide de poursuivre la campagne de l'année précédente et le 6 mai le commandement est de nouveau accordé au vizir Ḥasan, *qapudan-paša.*[149] Plusieurs ordres sont émis en vue de concentrer des troupes à Özü.[150] Le *qapudan-paša*, qui devait faire, à Aqkirman, la jonction avec les troupes de Murtaẓa paša, ancien *beglerbeg* de Buda, prévient le hetman Koniecpolski que l'expédition n'est organisée que contre les Cosaques.[151] Les événements de Crimée changent le cours des opérations, mais on continue néanmoins à se préoccuper de la défense du Buǧaq. Le *qāḍī* d'Aqkirman a mission de bâtir des fortins à Čoprüǧe (Ciubărciu?) et le voïévode de Moldavie reçoit l'ordre d'envoyer des artisans à Bender pour réparer les crosses de fusils endommagées.[152]

L'intervention des Cosaques pour soutenir Meḥmed et Šāhīn Girāy et les ravages des *šayqa* en mer Noire[153] ne pouvaient pas rester sans réponse. Le 28 septembre 1629, le voïévode de Moldavie écrit à son homologue de Transylvanie que, quatre jours plus tôt, le *qalġa* et Kantemir sont entrés en Pologne avec «80000 Tatars».[154] Mais, ayant subi des pertes considérables, ils doivent battre en retraite devant l'armée polonaise; ils réussissent pourtant à dévaster la Podolie.[155] Il semble qu'à la suite de cette expédition, Kantemir ne soit pas retourné en Crimée mais soit resté à Aqkirman.[156]

Après la razzia tatare en Pologne, on craignait au printemps 1630, à Istanbul, une recrudescence des raids cosaques.[157] Début mai, le

[149] MD, 83, *hüküm* 78 du *ġurre* Ramaẓān 1037.
[150] MD, 83, *hüküm* 79, 80, au *beglerbeg* d'Özü, du *ġurre* Ramaẓān 1037 (6 mai 1628); *hüküm* 81 au *ketḫüda* de Silistre, sans date, probablement même date; *hüküm* 89, au *sanǧaqbeg*, *qāḍī* et *muteferriqa* de Nigbolu, du 9 Ševvāl 1037 (13 juin 1628).
[151] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 260-261, doc. 269, sans date, probablement mai-juillet 1628.
[152] MD, 83, *hüküm* 138, 140, sans date, probablement du 11 juillet 1628. On se préoccupe également de la défense de Sinop contre les «Cosaques brigands», le 25 juin on ordonne la fabrication de canons pour la forteresse, cf. *hüküm* 118, du 21 Ševvāl 1037.
[153] Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 292-294, doc. 234.
[154] Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 292-294, doc. 234.
[155] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 588-590, doc. CCLXVI, lettre de Barnovschi au vice-chancelier de Pologne, du 29 octobre 1629; Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, 1943, p. 973-974, 976-977, docs. MDCCCLXII, MDCCCLXV, rapports transylvains des 30 octobre et 10 novembre 1629; Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 300-301, doc. 238, lettre adressée au voïevode de Transylvanie, du 26 octobre 1629; Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, p. 191-192, doc. XLI, rapport hollandais, automne 1629.
[156] Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, p. 186-187; Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 183.
[157] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 439-440, doc. D, rapport du baile vénitien du 3 mars 1630.

qapudan-paša était prêt à partir pour la mer Noire.[158] En même temps, Moise Movilă, nouveau voïévode de Moldavie, recevait des instructions afin de reprendre les négociations avec les Polonais.[159] En juin-juillet Murteẓā Paša et Ḥasan *qapudan-paša* arrivent à Aqkirman où ils ont un échange de correspondance avec Koniecpolski.[160] Le hetman prétend avoir vaincu les Cosaques, mais ceux-ci attaquent à Özü, alors même qu'on y poursuivait la construction des fortifications. Le 30 juillet, le *qapudan-paša* peut avertir Koniecpolski de la nomination de Kantemir au poste de *beglerbeg* des *sanğaq* de Bender et de Čirmen.[161] Les négociations tournent désormais autour d'un même leitmotiv : si le roi empêche les sorties des Cosaques, le sultan interdira aux Tatars du Buğaq de razzier la Pologne. C'est sur ce principe que le traité est finalement établi fin août-début septembre. Les deux parties s'engageaient, en outre, à se dédommager réciproquement au cas où Cosaques ou Tatars enfreindraient ces conventions.[162]

Par le rétablissement de Kantemir aux bouches du Danube, la Porte réussit de nouveau à arrêter les Cosaques. La crainte des Nogays oblige les Polonais à prendre des mesures. Un rapport français de 1631 définit ainsi la situation :

> Le roi...donne ordre pour retenir les Cosaques, dont il descend peu de barques, lequel fait pour obliger le Grand Seigneur à retenir les Tatars....[163]

En effet, ce n'est qu'au début de l'été 1633, alors que les Polonais sont engagés dans une guerre contre les Moscovites, que des incursions cosaques importantes recommencent. Un boyard moldave, de retour de la cour du sultan, fait état à ses correspondants de Bistriţa, en Transylvanie, de «grands ravages» causés par les *šayqa* cosaques qui sont arrivées jusqu'à «une journée de route d'Istanbul». Le sultan aurait enfin donné suite aux insistances des envoyés moscovites et décidé la campagne contre la Pologne. Les voïévodes de Valachie et de Moldavie étaient mobilisés et le khan était arrivé aux frontières de la Moldavie.[164] Le 2 août, le baile Foscarini avait déjà connaissance

[158] Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, p. 193, doc. XLIII, rapport hollandais d'Istanbul du 4 mai 1630.
[159] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 231, docs. CCCXXXVI, CCCXXXVII, rapports de de Césy, des 14 et 30 juillet 1630.
[160] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 269-271, docs. 279-281.
[161] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 272-273, doc. 282.
[162] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 274-278, docs. 284-287.
[163] Iorga, *Acte şi fragmente*, p. 70.
[164] Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, p. 991-993, doc. MDCCCLXXXIV, du 30 juin 1633.

d'une razzia effectuée en Pologne par l'un des fils de Kantemir.[165] Au milieu du mois d'octobre, l'armée ottomane, dirigée cette fois-ci par Abaza Paša, fait le siège de la ville de Kamjanec' mais n'obtient que quelques succès limités. Parallèlement, des discussions sont entamées par l'intermédiaire des voïévodes roumains et finalement un envoyé polonais arrive à la Porte.[166] En novembre, Kantemir et ses fils sont de retour dans le Buğaq et Abaza Paša se trouve à Ibrā'īl.[167] L'année suivante, en avril, Trebiński, l'envoyé polonais, quitte Istanbul en emportant avec lui les conditions de paix de la Porte. En fait, celles-ci ne diffèrent des clauses du traité de 1630 que par la demande de destruction des quelques fortins de la frontière qui auraient abrité des Cosaques.[168] Le sultan part en campagne mais ne dépasse pas Andrinople (Edirne). Murtaẓā Paša, de nouveau commandant en chef, traverse le Danube et s'arrête en Valachie.[169] Au mois de mai, les *šayqa* cosaques pillaient et incendiaient des villages de la région de Bender.[170] Cependant, en juillet, le roi pouvait annoncer au sultan sa victoire contre les Moscovites et réaffirmait sa volonté de maintenir de bons rapports avec l'Empire ottoman.[171]

A la Porte, on était d'ailleurs disposé à faire des concessions. Les lettres envoyées par Murtaẓā Paša, par le *qapudan-paša* Ğa'fer et par le *qaymmeqām* Bayrām Paša au roi, au chancelier et au hetman de Pologne, en font foi. Ils acceptaient de traiter sur de nouvelles bases : Kantemıı et ses Nogays seraient retirés du Buğaq à condition que les incursions cosaques s'arrêtent véritablement. Le traité fut conclu dans ces mêmes termes en octobre 1634.[172] Début novembre, de Césy

[165] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 469-470, doc. DXXXIV.
[166] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 472-473, docs. DXXXVIII, DXXXIX, rapports du baile du 28 novembre et du 11 décembre 1633; Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 603-605, doc. CCLXXII, instructions données à Grotowski envoyé chez le voïévode de Moldavie, le 21 octobre 1633; Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 282-286, docs. 293-297, rapports ottomans de Kamjanec' du 19-20 Rebi' II 1043 (23-24 octobre 1633).
[167] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 998-1000, docs. MDCCCXCII, MDCCCXCIV, rapports moldaves du 11 novembre et du 7 décembre 1633.
[168] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 286-288, doc. 298, lettre impériale adressée au roi de Pologne, du 9 Ševvāl 1043 (8 avril 1634).
[169] von Hammer, *Histoire*, vol. IX, p. 232-239; Iorga, *Studii şi documente*, préface, p. CLXXV-CLXXVI; Iorga, *Acte şi fragmente*, p. 77.
[170] Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, p. 1005-1006, doc. MDCCCC, rapport moldave, fin mai 1634.
[171] Hurmuzaki, suppl. II, vol. II, p. 608-610, doc. CCLXXV, lettre du 24 juillet 1634.
[172] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 289-299, docs. 301-310.

rapporte au roi de France que le sultan a déjà ordonné le départ de Kantemir du Buğaq.[173] A la même époque, le khan écrit au roi de Pologne qu'il a reçu le tribut. Il lui promet en échange de respecter la paix et de faire en sorte que les Tatars d'Aqkirman et les frères de Kantemir reviennent en Crimée. Quant à ce dernier, il sera envoyé ailleurs par le sultan.[174] Pourtant Ǧānibeg Girāy n'eut pas la possibilité de mettre son plan en application car, quelques mois plus tard (mars-avril 1635), il était remplacé par ʿInāyet Girāy.[175]

En février 1635, Murtaẓā Paša fait savoir au roi de Pologne que Kantemir doit quitter le Buğaq avec ses frères et ses hommes pour s'établir en Crimée.[176] En juin, c'est Bayrām Paša qui apprend au roi que le chef nogay, se trouvant toujours dans les environs de Kili, a l'ordre de participer à l'expédition du sultan contre les Persans. En même temps, le *qaymmeqām* attire l'attention du roi sur le fait que les Cosaques, contrairement au traité, ont saccagé les bords de la mer Noire.[177]

Kantemir ne se rendit pas à la campagne contre les Persans car des différends avec le khan le font retourner à Aqkirman fin août-début septembre.[178] Il y reçoit, en janvier-février 1636, l'envoyé du voïévode de Transylvanie.[179] En avril, ʿInāyet Girāy refuse de fournir au sultan des troupes tatares pour combattre les Persans[180]; c'était rompre avec la Porte. Pendant les années 1636-1637, nous voyons se répéter en Crimée, la même situation que du temps de Meḥmed et de Šāhīn Girāy. ʿInāyet Girāy fait également appel aux Zaporogues et obtient leur soutien en échange d'une solde et après leur avoir envoyé plusieurs *mīrzā* nogays en otage.[181] Kantemir lui-même prévient le sultan de cette entente.[182] Dans ces conditions il ne peut plus

[173] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 234, doc. CCCXLI, du 5 novembre 1634.

[174] V. Veljaminov-Zernov, *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo xanstva izvlečennye... iz Moskovskogo glavnogo arxiva Ministerstva inostrannyx del* (*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée extraits... des Archives centrales du ministère des affaires étrangères à Moscou*), Saint-Pétersbourg, 1864, p. 113-117, doc. 25.

[175] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 189, 244.

[176] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 305-306, doc. 317.

[177] Abrahamowicz, *Katalog*, p. 307-308, doc. 319.

[178] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 246.

[179] Veress, *Documente* 1937, p. 360-361, doc. 278, du 17 février 1636.

[180] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 246-248.

[181] Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 246-248; Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 488, doc. DLXIX, rapport du baile du 8 mars 1636.

[182] Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı, doc. E. 1096, sans date, probablement début 1636.

être question de retirer le chef nogay du Buğaq et l'ambassadeur polonais qui était arrivé en mai 1636 à la Porte pour exiger son éloignement n'obtient aucun résultat. Selon de Césy, il dut quitter Istanbul en août avec la promesse qu'on tenterait de «faire s'il est possible que le Cantémir empesche que ses Tartares ne fassent plus d'incursions dans la Pologne». L'ambassadeur ajoutait qu'il était fort improbable que le chef Nogay soit «osté des embouchеures du Danube» car le sultan :

prétend de l'oppozer et au Roy de Tartarie ennemy particulier du dict Cantémir, et au Polonnois, en cas de quelque mouvements de ce costé là.[183]

A la fin de l'année, Kantemir reçoit l'ordre de faire comprendre à ses *mīrzā* et aux «autres Tatars» :

qu'ils ne fassent plus dorénavant de razzias en Pologne et qu'ils ne contreviennent plus à la paix et à l'entente en capturant et emmenant des prisonniers, qu'ils craignent et se gardent de commettre des actes contraires à ma volonté impériale.[184]

Mais entretemps, du côté du khan, la menace se précisait. Quand, fin octobre 1636, Kenān Paša doit intervenir en Transylvanie, Kantemir qui redoutait les Cosaques, ne lui envoie que 300 hommes.[185] L'attaque du khan qui, en plus des auxiliaires zaporogues, avait réussi à entraîner avec lui les Nogays des plaines d'Azaq, a lieu en février-mars 1637.[186] Kantemir n'est pas en mesure de soutenir cette offensive et doit chercher refuge auprès du sultan.[187] Apparemment, ses frères se soumettent au khan et acceptent de se laisser emmener en Crimée par le *qalġa* et le *nūreddīn*. Cependant, au mois de mai, alors qu'ils traversent le Dniepr, ils réussissent à les surprendre et les tuent.[188] Ayant perdu ses frères, 'Ināyet Girāy n'a pas les moyens de résister aux Ottomans. A l'arrivée du nouveau khan, il se rend à la Porte où, après l'avoir confronté avec Kantemir, le sultan le fait étrangler.

183 Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 235, doc. CCCXLIV, du 30 août 1636.

184 MD, 87, *hüküm* 18, sans date, vraisemblablement des mois de novembre-décembre 1636.

185 Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, p. 1027-1028, doc. MDCCCCXXXVI, rapport de Valachie du 24 octobre 1636.

186 Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 246-248; Hurmuzaki, VIII, p. 455-457, docs. DCXLIX, DCL, rapports du baile du 8 mars et du 3 avril 1637.

187 Hurmuzaki, VIII, p. 457, doc. DCLI, rapport du baile du 30 avril 1637; Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 237, doc. CCCXLVII, rapport de de Césy du 1 mai 1637.

188 Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba*, p. 249; Hurmuzaki, VIII, p. 459-460, doc. DCLIV, rapport du baile du 5 juillet 1637.

C'était la première fois qu'un khan était tué par les Ottomans et le sultan, en partie pour donner satisfaction aux clans tatars de Crimée dont il craignait probablement la réaction, fit mettre à mort Kantemir.[189] Il pensait également avoir ainsi résolu ses différends avec les Polonais.

En août, l'ancien Grand-Vizir Meḥmed Paša reçoit l'ordre de détruire les Nogays du Buğaq.[190] En octobre, alors qu'il est en train d'accomplir sa mission, il reçoit, selon le baile Contarini, les remerciements du général polonais (probablement Koniecpolski).[191] Le 7 janvier 1638, de Césy rapporte que Meḥmed Paša, bien qu'ayant été rassuré par le hetman Koniecpolski, s'inquiètait des concentrations cosaques.[192] Ce dernier avait d'ailleurs envoyé une lettre à la Porte, pour lui exprimer sa satisfaction de la mort de Kantemir et du bannissement de ses Nogays. Il promettait d'agir de la même façon avec les Cosaques.[193] En effet, entre le mois de décembre 1637 et le mois d'octobre 1638, plusieurs expéditions polonaises sont dirigées contre les Zaporogues. Ils sont d'ailleurs vaincus à plusieurs reprises par Potocki, le voïévode de Braclav, et par le hetman Koniecpolski; leurs chefs sont tués. Pour s'assurer le contrôle du Dniepr, les Polonais bâtissent une forteresse à Kudak (Kodak), en amont des rapides du fleuve. De 1638 à 1648, période dite de la «paix dorée», les Zaporogues restent sous la tutelle polonaise.

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Les incursions zaporogues contre l'Empire ottoman se poursuivront bien au-delà des années 1637-1638. On peut néanmoins estimer que la première étape de la lutte engagée par la Porte contre les Cosaques prend fin à cette date. Tout au long des années 1600-1637, et surtout à partir de 1614, les Zaporogues sont les principaux ennemis des Ottomans en Europe, ennemis d'autant plus redoutables qu'il est impossible de leur opposer des méthodes «classiques». La Porte doit donc innover, mais elle ne le fera qu'avec une grande méfiance.

Les Ottomans s'efforcent d'abord de mettre en place un dispositif leur permettant de repousser les attaques cosaques. Les mesures prises

[189] Hurmuzaki, VIII, doc. DCLIV, déjà cité; Na'īmā, *Tarih*, éd. Danişman, p. 1363-1366.
[190] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 492, doc. DLXV, rapport du baile du 14 août 1637; Hurmuzaki, XV, 2, p. 1035-1036, doc. MDCCCCXLVIII, lettre de Moldavie du 8 août 1637.
[191] Hurmuzaki, VIII, p. 465, doc. DCLXI, du 17 octobre 1637.
[192] Hurmuzaki, suppl. I, vol. I, p. 237-238, doc. CCCXLVIII.
[193] Hurmuzaki, IV, 2, p. 495-496, doc. DLXXI, rapport du baile du 9 janvier 1638.

ont surtout un caractère défensif : réfection et armement des forteresses, renforcement des garnisons, organisation des forces des régions menacées, construction de fortifications nouvelles et concentration de troupes aux bouches du Danube. Un effort particulier est accompli en vue d'améliorer la flotte : construction de galères et armement des *šayqa.*

A plusieurs reprises, la Porte organise des expéditions contre les Cosaques (1614, 1617, 1618, 1621, 1627, 1630, 1633, 1634). La plupart d'entre elles s'arrêtent en cours de route. Elles ne sont en fait destinées qu'à impressionner les Polonais et aboutissent toutes à la reprise des tractations.

Les négociations avec la Pologne restent sans doute la solution que préfère la Porte. Pour le sultan, les Zaporogues sont sujets du roi de Pologne, et il entend régler cette affaire de souverain à souverain. Les Cosaques ne sont à aucun moment des interlocuteurs possibles pour les Ottomans, ils ne le deviendront qu'à partir de 1648.

La Porte ne dispose que d'un seul moyen de riposte appropriée aux incursions cosaques : les razzias tatares. Mais les khans de Crimée sont des alliés capricieux, ils ont leur politique propre qui, parfois, comme pendant les règnes de Meḥmed et d'ʿInāyet Girāy, se trouve même être contraire aux intérêts ottomans. De plus, ils peuvent traiter directement avec la Pologne. Les Ottomans font alors appel à une force nouvelle, encore plus « barbare » que les Tatars de Crimée ou les Zaporogues, les Nogays de Kantemir. C'était la tactique employée jadis par les Romains et les Byzantins, elle fait de nouveau la preuve de son efficacité.

Pourtant la création d'une force de type nomade, difficilement contrôlable, était en contradiction avec la politique de l'Empire ottoman. On peut d'ailleurs se demander si la Porte aurait jamais permis l'installation de Kantemir dans le Buǧaq, si elle n'avait été en butte aux incursions cosaques.

Nous avons vu que, tant les Polonais que les Ottomans avaient conscience de l'importance que donnait aux Cosaques et aux Nogays l'éventualité d'un conflit les opposant. La soumission temporaire des Zaporogues et la destruction du noyau Nogay du Buǧaq apparaissent ainsi comme l'affirmation de la politique traditionnelle d'entente entre la Porte et la Pologne. Cependant, dans la mesure où les Nogays, comme les Zaporogues, sont les héritiers des Empires des steppes, les événements de 1637-1638 ne sont que l'expression de la réaction des états sédentaires face aux nomades.

Paris

THE UKRAINIAN POPULAR RELIGIOUS STAGE OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE POLISH COMMONWEALTH

PAULINA LEWIN

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ukrainian religious stage plays were created and performed by members of semi-professional wandering companies. Their existence and forms of organization are attested by extant documents and literary texts. The members of these ever-changing, seasonal companies were primarily students or graduates of the Orthodox Brotherhood schools or the Kiev Mohyla Academy, although some were Ukrainian alumni of Polish schools. The students wandered with their companies during their holiday vacations or so-called *epetycji*, i.e., work leaves or sabbaticals. The leader of a company was the *staršyj djak*. Various other *djaks*, also belonging to the company, were popularly called *mandrovanni djaky*, *latynnyky*, *psalternyky*, or *pyvorizy* (for they apparently never let the chance to take a drink pass by). They lived on contributions solicited from their audiences through special formulas; these asked for holiday foods, alcoholic beverages, and money.

The students created their own distinctive dramatic and other literature, exemplars (verse parodies and travesties, for the most part) of which have come down to us in several manuscript archives found in various locations in the Ukraine. The essential feature of this writing was a fusion of literary and folk elements with immediate observations of everyday life. Its creators and performers knew various religious and secular genres, including the Holy Scriptures, liturgical and theological works, and also some foreign literature (classical, Polish, and Western). In addition, they were familiar with many wandering motifs and, especially, with literary craftsmanship, on which the schools placed strong emphasis in courses on poetics. Their travels provided exposure to the life of the common people and some acquaintance with folk literature. While drawing on folk culture, the members of the wandering companies also enriched it

with new values. Their performances, consequently, were well received by the mass audiences.[1]

One of the creative principles held by the authors of the stage repertoire of these seasonal companies was the compilation of motifs or of whole sections from known works. Their view of the creative process resulted from an attitude—similar to that in folklore—that regarded verbal art as shared property, or, in effect, as being anonymous. Depending upon the talent of the author or, rather, the textmaker, the outcome was the production of works more or less coherent in plot and functionally scenic.

The popular Ukrainian stage of town and village that was serviced by these companies was an occasional one. The relatively small number of extant texts leads us to the conclusion that for the period and territory in question, stage plays performed outside the school were generally connected with feast days on the church calendar. These dramas did not fit the Aristotelian premises of composition and genre; rather, they were associated with the mystery play. Indeed, most extant works of the Ukrainian popular repertoire on the territory of the Polish Commonwealth relate to Holy Week. These texts may have been preserved merely by chance, but there is also reason to believe that Holy Week was the time of peak activity for the plebian theater on the Commonwealth's Ukrainian lands. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of a similar quantitative pattern among monuments of Ukrainian school drama and declamations.[2]

* * *

The most interesting and dramatically most mature play of the Ukrainian non-school theater of the seventeenth century on this territory is surely *Slovo o zburenju pekla*, known from several later copies.[3] One of my studies published elsewhere is devoted to an examination of the scenic structure of this play; here I wish to consider only the conclusions of that investigation.

The structure of the play is not normalized nor symmetrical, yet it is logical, coherent, functional, and dramatically effective. The

[1] Cf. P. Žiteckij, "Stranstvujuščie škol'niki v starinnoj Malorossii," *Kievskaja starina* 36, no. 2 (February 1892): 189-205; also, *Mysli o narodnyx malorusskix dumax* (Kiev, 1893), pp. 39-56.

[2] Cf. V.I. Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 6 vols. (Kiev, 1925-29), especially vols. 3 and 4; and P. Lewin, "Ruskie formy parateatralne XVI-XVIII w. na dawnych ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej," *Slavia Orientalis* 3 (1973).

[3] For a discussion and the text of the play see Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1: 141-63.

work's *vis drammatica* hinges on the conflict between two powers —those of Heaven and Hell. Dramatic tension builds not from the audience's expectation of a resolution to the conflict, for this is already well known from the Holy Scriptures and Apocrypha, but through the use and organization of dramatic means. The two opposing sides are presented in no uncertain terms—the good and righteous versus the evil and vindictive, or that which saves mankind versus that which dooms it. The power of the former is depicted in such a way that the time onstage allotted its representatives and their speeches is inversely proportional to its significance. Thus, the conviction that victory belongs to an incommensurable power, one needing no words, is established in the minds of the audience. This power—faith—is contrasted with verbose reason. The basic dramatic device is an increase and decrease in the tempo of presentation, whereas the stylistic means evoking tension in the spectator are literal and synonymical repetitions of the same words and arguments used by the *dramatis personae*—Lucyper and the King of Hell (Ad).

The play may be divided into three scenic parts. Each builds in tension to a point of maximalization, followed by the tension's decline. The most static, virtually expository, and longest (286 lines of a total 519) part is the first, which begins with the news that Christ, the Son of God, will destroy Hell. The news is told to Lucyper by John the Baptist; he, in turn, passes it on to the King of Hell. The first part's opening dramatic situation does not develop but is only elaborated as the King of Hell argues with Lucyper, his first vassal and the scenic protagonist. Only after line 286 does the tempo of the play increase: action occurs onstage, while offstage, the scenic personae tell us, events are also taking place. The increasing tempo of events is presented through the accounts of three messengers (in one narrative sequence, i.e., lines 287-96, 297-302, and 303-11) as they appear in Hell before Lucyper and the King of Hell. Each messenger interrupts his predecessor's story of Christ's passion, thus giving the master and servants of Hell a foretaste of victory. This moment may be considered the part's high point, a view supported by the exchange between Lucyper and the King of Hell during which Lucyper briefly summarizes the accounts and credits himself with the suffering of Mary's Son. The dialogue keeps the audience in suspense until tension is released with the fourth messenger's account of Christ's resurrection and his setting out for Hell. Here a difference in perception becomes clear: for the stage personae, the decrease of tension is due to a decrease in the feeling of triumph; for the

Christian audience, the decrease of tension marks the beginning of the resolution given in the Holy Scriptures.

In the third part of the play (after line 400), the tempo of presentation increases continuously as the players' lines become much shorter and the number of persons on stage grows: events happen onstage, and the spectators become witnesses to dramatic action as the verbal presentations are interrupted (according to the didascalies) with movements and pantomimes in which Christ appears. His three short speeches are solemn and sublime exhortations, variants of verses seven through ten of Psalm 23, each shorter and more expressive than the last in describing the destruction of the Gates of Hell in God's name. With this action the tension of the third part and of the whole play subsides: subsequent scenic events show the defeat of the powers of Hell and the victory of the powers of Heaven.

The critical literature has proposed the thesis that this Ukrainian play is based on the *Historia o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim* of Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko. Scholars have been influenced by the similarities between the part of *Slovo o zburenju pekla* in which Christ destroys Hell and the beginning of part 4 of the Polish *Historia*.[4] These are rather slight evidence for drawing such a conclusion. All that one may justly assume is some secondary adaptation of the verbal formulas or, perhaps, scenic fragments that were current in the anonymous mystery theater, probably derived from such basic sources as the Holy Scriptures and the Apocrypha. On the other hand, a dependence on both the Polish *Historia o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim* and—perhaps to an even greater degree—on the Ukrainian *Slovo o zburenju pekla* is clearly evident in a dramatized fragment of a Ukrainian sermon preserved in a manuscript collection of sermons from the Transcarpathian Ukraine.[5] An analysis of the language and content of these sermons, dated to the 1730s, convinced scholars that they originated in Ukrainian territories once belonging to Poland. In publishing the dialogic fragments of the sermon, M. Voznjak attempted to divide them into verses because, he maintained, "the versified language is self-evident." His footnotes pointed out parallels with *Historia o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu* in the Polish original.

[4] See the texts in Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1: 159-60; and *Dramaty Staropolskie: Antologia*, ed. Julian Lewański, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1959), pp. 311-15.

[5] Published by M. Voznjak in "Znadibky do ukrajins'koji velykodn'oji dramy," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka* 146 (1927): 119-41.

It is with such a dramatized fragment that the Easter sermon of the play begins.[6] After a lengthy title—[Poučenie na Voskresenie Iysus Xrystovo pry zaxodî solnečnom a pobîdî Ada pekelnaho, o razrušînî pek"la, jak stalasja žalost y radost u pekelnyx mukax onŷm vjaznom, ot vîka sîdjaščym otcem svjatŷm, stalasja radost, yž Xrystos, syn božîj, yz mertvŷx vstal, bo znaly onŷy vjaznî, otceve svjatiy, yž Xrystos po nî prijde]—comes a rhymed tetrastich which is syntactically connected with the non-versified text:

A hdŷ Xrystos, sŷn božîj, yz mertvŷx mal ustaty, do pekla dano znaty.
Hdŷ svjataho Ioana Krestytelja Irod pojmal y hlavu emu utjal,
tedy pošol svjatŷj Ioan do pekelnŷx otxlanŷj y povîdîl tam otcom svjatŷm,
kotoriy ot vîka sîdîly, ot Adama až do v"skresenija Xrystova.

The remainder of the fragment published by Voznjak is similar in form. However, its stage elements are present not only in the rhymed sequences noted by Voznjak. They predominate in the forms of expression generally used in the didascalies of stage works and in the speeches of the actors. This is shown in the beginning section of the dramatized part of the sermon, throughout which the pattern in question is maintained:[7]

A hdŷ počal movyty hetman pekel"nŷj Xava: 'Čas bŷ nam tu Krysta zaprovadyty, abŷ tu sja nam pokoryl ...'. Y rek Ad krol do hetmana Xavŷ: 'Ktož takij yde mocnŷj y možnŷj s tamtoho svita? ....' Reče hetman: 'Krolju Ade, pamjataj moe slovo, že naša moc pod eho moc pryjde ...'. Počal movyty druhyj, Syraxuz: 'Čom pomyšljaeš u sobî troskot"lyviy rîčy, brate hetmane, čom boyšja pryjaty do pekla Iysus Xrysta Nazarjanyna? ....' Reče znovu hetman Syraxuz: '...,' etc.

The stage provenance of the given fragment seems unquestionable, although the form in which it is preserved cannot be a basis for an analysis of its theatrical structure. In order to attain the greatest possible expressiveness and suggestiveness, the unknown preacher proceeded to relate plays he had seen or in which he had participated. In accordance with the conventions of popular literature, including sermons for the masses, he proceeded to compile and expropriate without much concern for the sources. It is also possible that the

[6] In all citations the following transliteration was used: ѣ = î, ы = ŷ, й = j, и = y, х = x, ъ = omitted as final letter, otherwise rendered as "; ь = rendered as '.

[7] In the citations from the Easter sermon the actors' speeches are designated by quotation marks. The remaining text is treated as didascalies. Voznjak's division of the text into rhymed sections is set aside in favor of the form in the manuscript.

given preacher imitated various personages by intonation. However, his sermon does not have scenic form: at most, it is a theatricalized narrative, albeit one that shows a reliance on stage sources. Thus, the first fragment of the sermon in question may be treated provisionally as a presentation of three compositionally loose, scenic parts (or acts), each of which comprises a thematic whole and occurs at a different location.

In the first part, the preacher relates the scenic events in Hell, to which John the Baptist brought the news of the coming resurrection of Christ. The dramatic forms of this account (the players' lines and the stage directions) were preserved in the sermon as dialogues of "unclean spirits"—i.e., the King of Hell and his generals (*hetmany*), Xava and Syraxuz. In this part, analogues to the *Slovo o zburenju pekla* are apparent.

The part of the sermon which we can view as a portion from the following scenic part (or act) presents Christ's resurrection. This is the inscenation of the words of the Gospel (Matthew 28:2-4) that are cited both by the Polish author of the drama of the Lord's glorious resurrection and by the Ukrainian preacher. It is in this part that Voznjak finds most of the elements he considers borrowings from the Polish *Historia.*

The third part of the preacher's version shows, "through the characters themselves," Christ's approach to Hell and his victory. Here the only representatives of Hell are Lucyper and Cerber. Xava and Syraxuz, who appeared in the first part, are not mentioned. Elements corresponding to this third part can be found in both the Polish and the Ukrainian dramas mentioned above. As Voznjak notes, this dramatic fragment "takes up pp. 71-81 of the manuscript; this is followed by the continuing text of the sermon which, on pp. 83v-86, is interrupted by yet another dramatic fragment that also once belonged to an Easter drama." This fragment does not reveal a closer analogue to any extant Polish or Ukrainian scenic works. However, it is connected with the dramatization from the sermon discussed above not only thematically, but also by a further development of the scenic motif of Lucyper, chained to a post in the center of Hell by Archangel Michael. This second dramatic fragment of the Ukrainian sermon begins with words bearing similarity to stage directions:

> A hdŷ už to peklo zostalo pusto, Lucyper zvjazan posredku pekla u stolpa stoyt u velykoj žalosty, revne plače, horko žalue za carstvom svoym y za stadom Xrystovŷm, onyx sokolov y uhodnykov Xrysta pana, kotorŷx vŷder emu s paščeky pohanskoy.

The preacher's account allows us to assume that the bound Lucyper, the "hellish king," was once the focus of scenic action in a stage play unknown to us but most probably seen by the author. To Lucyper there "fly up," in sequence, the "hetman staršyj Cerber, potîšajučy pana svoeho u peklî"; "druhy hetman, dijavol Asmodej"; "tretyj hetman, dijavol, paskuda, zaljutnyk"; "četvertŷj hetman dijavol na ymja Rohalec." Also present is the same motif that appears at the end of *Slovo o zburenju pekla*, where Christ consoles the King of Hell by saying that his kingdom will be replenished—a clear warning to mankind, which has just been saved by Christ's passion. In the sermon fragment this same moral, occurring in the devils' speeches, loses some of its religious solemnity and assumes more expressiveness by being couched in the everyday life and beliefs of the people. The main paraenetic device is an insistent, repetitive recitation by the servants of Lucyper who "fly up" one after the other, recounting the enticements they will use to bring sinners to Hell to avenge their defeat and "nahorodyty sobi u troe." Cerber, for example, promises that

> U koršmax budemo vadyty pjanycî, kartošnyky, u dvorax panŷ, mîščany, služaliy, rycerî; šumŷ, svadŷ, koločînja; do bytvy zažhu serdce, edyn druhoho zab"e: tŷm sja utîšymo.

Rohalec, too, recommends himself to Lucyper:

> Ja Rohalec, slîčnoy urody, čarovnyk, ja zav'še na ožozî syžu, zavše sja meže babmŷ bav"lju, bo ja y troma xlopamy ne spravlju, što ednoju baboju, ja babu nauču voly svoey, zîlja pokažu babî y nauču ey volî svoey, abŷ škodu učynyla meže korovamy u nabîlî, abŷ edna druhu podsypala, čaramy doskonala, to ja nauču, hoj ... Ešče nauču babu v"lî svoey, nauky svoey, ščobŷ zîlja pyla, a dîty tratyla, y bolše ešče zlosty pryložu svoey babam, to našî budut tovaryšky, až sja usî kuty tvoy y s"pîžarni y temnycî pekelnŷy napolnjat, što yx Xrystos vŷporožnyl, uzjal hvaltom ...'.

Thanking his faithful generals, Lucyper promises them that he will make them "elders" (*starši*) in the reconstructed Hell, and that he will give them power "abŷste vîčnŷx muk zavdavaly." He asks only that they watch over the sinners, particularly the merchants, "zealously":

> što pyvo ne dosypujut y pozad ne mîšajut y falšyvoju mîroju mîrjajut. A do toho, što falšyvymy lok"tjamy mîrjajut, a ljudiom prodajut, a do toho, što falšyvymy funtamy važat, a prodajut. Tedŷ tyx usytkyx pylnujte, podpravljajte na rozmaytiy rîčy, na vsî zlŷy postupky, prez kotorŷy by rîčy mohly nam sja dostaty do našoho tletvornaho carstva pekel"naho.

This description of the fragments from the Ukrainian sermon published by Voznjak leaves little doubt that it is a monument of predicant, rather than theatrical, art. Yet, the sermon's dominant structural elements are exempla of scenic provenance that clearly support its basic theme and enliven the imagination of the audience. Thus, this text should not be ignored in efforts to reconstruct the theater on the cultural territory in question. For the text is striking evidence of the range of influence of the mystery-play stage, which establishes in the consciousness of the audience a canon of vivid characters and images. This stage allows the preacher, in directing himself to the Ukrainian public, to effectively manipulate a conglomerate of generally known (or viewed) fragments of Ukrainian as well as Polish stage plays.

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A manuscript dated 1607, 1655, and 1670, found by Ivan Franko in the church library of the village of Smerekovo in the L'viv region, contains a *Dialogus de passione Christi.*[8] According to Franko, the work was staged—possibly also written—in a larger city or monastery, perhaps in L'viv, but most probably in Žovkwa, at the court of the Sobieskis around the year 1660, when the custom of festive Easter celebrations was introduced. The work's unique features, characteristic of that age's ethnic and cultural milieu, are its language and alphabet. The prologue is written in correct Polish in the Latin alphabet, and among other announcements contains the following: "Taką my tragedią wysławim po Panie, / A to się wszystko ruskim dialektem stanie" (pp. 37-38). The text following the prologue is in Cyrillic. Ukrainian scholars believe, however, that the work is not written in a real Ukrainian dialect, but in a "macaronic" language with an enormous number of Polish words and forms.

There is no scholarly concensus as to the scenic and generic categorization of the *Dialog*. Perhaps most valid is the supposition that the work was written in a Ukrainian burgher, rather than school, setting and was therefore not intended for a school audience. However, its author as well as its performers were educated, most likely in an Orthodox school patterned on the Jesuit model. For this reason Rjezanov includes the *Dialog* from the village of Smerekovo "in the

[8] For the text see Miron [I. Franko], "Misterija strastej Xristovyx," *Kievskaja starina*, 1891, no. 4; reprinted in Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1 : 183-200. Citations are from the reprint.

sphere of influences of the Jesuit theater on Ukrainian drama—influences which penetrated, above all, through Polish mediation, and were particularly strongly reflected in the Ukrainian school drama."[9]

The plot stratum of the *Dialog* comes from the Gospels as well as from church passion songs; the work itself consists of a prologue and five scenes. The preserved text is distinguished by both its literary polish and scenic impoverishment. The scenic structure is far removed from the imitation of any real sequence of events ("real," that is, for the authors and viewers), as well as from the development of action. Its five scenes are basically five dialogues, very simple in construction and reminiscent of school declamations.[10] The author succeeded in linking four of them by the rudimentary device of a "chain system," as it were. In each scene only two characters appear: in the first, an Angel and the Blessed Virgin; in the second, the Angel and Christ; in the third, the Blessed Virgin and Christ; in the fourth, the Heart of the Blessed Mother of God and Cruelty. Continuity of action is simulated by the disappearance offstage of one character at the end of each scene, while the other proceeds on his or her journey onstage, meeting the next interlocutor. The fifth scene seems to be divorced from this action: it takes place after the crucifixion. In its four monologues, which follow one another, four new characters appear: Love, Faith, Hope and the Church. This is the most static scene, bearing the weight of theological morality—i.e., Christian teachings on the spiritual triumph of the crucified Christ. Thus, it serves as the *Dialog*'s pathetic finale.

The movements and gesticulations of this performance are indicated in the prologue (lines 1-40):

Wydzie Anyoł z kielichem Chrystusa szukaiąc ... a gdy zchodzić zechce, Panna mu drogę zaydzie ... Anyoł przydzie, a potym Chrystusa w ogroycu obaczycie ... I po krótkiem śpiewaniu ztteyże lewej strony pokaże się z kielichem y Anyoł z zapony ... Wydzież Chrystus z kielichem, ale tuż znienacka pokaże się w żałości Jego Święta Matka ... Pod tenże krzyż z nim oraz s theatrum zstępuje ... potym Cerkiew nowa iako oblubienica wydzie Chrystusowa.

The prologue describes the first scene as a dialogue between the Angel and the Blessed Virgin. At its end, however, after the Angel's departure, we are told: "A tak, kiedy Anyoła iuże nie uprosi, / Wielki żal swóy szeroce przed wami [i.e., the audience] ogłosi." In the second scene, the Angel "będzie kielich podawał z żalem Chrystusowi, / A

[9] Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1 : 54.
[10] Cf. Lewin, "Ruskie formy parateatralne."

Chrystus mu na wszystko szeroce odmowi. / Iednakże obaczywszy w odchłani zamknionych / ... / Weźmie kielich ... ." In the fourth scene, Cruelty ("srogie Okrucieństwo") will plunge an "ostry miecz" into the heart of the Blessed Virgin. In the fifth scene the Church "wnet Chrystusowi pokłon znaczny uczyni ... ."

These stage directions to the actors can be amplified by the play's particular Ukrainian text. The pathos of the style and the forms of address allow us to reconstruct the accompanying gests and to see where they are directed. Nearly all the developed monologues—that of the Blessed Virgin in the third scene, the Heart of the Mother of God in the fourth, the Church in the last—have several addressees, that is, they are separated by gests that designate a change in the direction of the address. The scenes in which the main prop—the chalice—had a role must certainly have been enlivened by the simplest of gests, for it was passed, rejected, and accepted. In the fourth scene the chalice is replaced by another prop, the sword, which Cruelty hands to the Heart of the Mother of God not hilt first—that is, not so she could defend her Son—but blade first, so as to "wound" her, which it in fact does. Other movements were probably confined to figures traversing or lingering on the stage.

The preserved text also gives us some idea of the scenography of the play. A curtain (*zapona*) was provided; the scenic characters appeared from around its "left side." The stage (*teatrum*) was probably separated from the audience by height, because one "stepped off" it. A "hellish pit" was provided on stage for the sinners. It appears that the fourth scene and, almost certainly, the fifth took place against the background of a huge crucifix, for Love says to the Church:

A to vydyš, jakie nieznosnŷje ranŷ,
Na prečystoe tîlo eho sut' zadanŷ!
Vydyš, jak est' sromotne na krest podvŷžennŷj,
A na vŷliot ostrŷmy hvozdmy probodennŷj!
(lines 417-20)

The Church could kneel before the crucifix as Love said:

A tŷ, Xryste, moj pane, na krestî raspjatŷj,
Žes' mja smertju svoeju račyl zbudovaty,
Pretož nyzko kolîna svoy preklanjaju ...
(lines 511-13)

In this stage play, however, scenic forms of expression are secondary. The main dramatic instruments are words—language formed

according to school poetics and rhetoric. Here we find elements widely used in school literature, such as repetitions, rhetorical questions and exclamations, antithetic formulas, symbolization ascribing concrete form to abstract concept (the chalice of suffering, the wounds of the heart) and allegorization. We also find two refrains: in scenes 1, 2, and 3, by voices from hell; in scene 5, by the character of the Church, in his final monologue giving thanks to Christ. The refrain in the first three scenes,

Bud' mylostyv, Hospody, zmylujsja nad namy!
Pokažy myloserdie tvoe nad vjaznjamy,
Snyjdy s nebesy, tvorče, vŷbav nas z nevolî,
Učyny, o Hospody, dost' otcevskoj voly!
(lines 121-4, 263-6, 329-32)

marks the points of highest tension and the turning points of the drama. In the first scene the sinners' prayer determines the Angel's subsequent actions. The latter painfully and reluctantly takes the chalice to Christ, even though he was on the point of succumbing to the pleas of the Blessed Virgin. In the second scene, the refrain-prayer of the sinners follows the Angel's reply to Christ, who does not want to accept the chalice. The reply ends with the words: "Esly tedŷ ne pryjmeš / ščo y ja žadaju /, // Ja sja nazad z kelyxom zaraz povertaju." After the refrain, however, Christ's monologue begins with the words: "Stoj, Anhele, počekaj, daj my času v ruky! // Juže tŷž sja otvažu na vsî tŷe muky." In the third scene the pleas from hell's abyss strengthen Christ in his decision and steadfastness as he faces his Mother's entreaties. The refrain comes at the very end of the scene followed by the speech of Christ and another by the Blessed Virgin. These provide a resolution, as it were, of the whole first part of the play—that is, of the "action surrounding the chalice." It concludes with Christ departing for his passion, and the Blessed Virgin following him as witness.

The second refrain is compositionally a part of the culminating monologue given by the Church, or, more precisely, of the monologue's last and longest part (lines 511-64), which is directed to the crucified Christ. The distich

Ukryžovanŷj pane, dobrŷj es' zayste,
Ščodroblyvyj[11] pred smertju y pry smerty Xryste

[11] Thus in verses 526, 538 and 564; in verse 516, "dobrotlyvŷj." Moreover, in verse 564 "po smerty," rather than "pry smerty," appears.

is repeated four times: after the first four verses directed to Christ, after the following eight, then after ten, and finally after the next twenty-four—that is, at the end of the play. The verses between the refrain amplify ever more broadly the fundamental assertion that Christ's passion has become the foundation for the new church. This refrain, in turn, functions as a melodic leitmotif that gives the finale the tone of sublime, prayerful thanksgiving. Here the poetics that characterize the whole work attain their high point. The elevated style of the *Dialog* is created by amplification through rhetorical devices, passionate or dolorous intonation projected by the syntax, and elevated diction. Elements organizing the stylistic construction are exclamations (*ax*, *o*, *ej*), modal particles (*nexaj*, *nexajže*), the accumulation of imperative forms (e.g., "Ax, Anhele, počekaj, stuj, stuj, ne spîšysja," all in one line) and of interrogatory particles at the beginning of successive lines, and inflected forms of the same pronoun. The literary correctness of the work is supported by a regular thirteen-syllable meter with paired rhymes.

* * *

Among the early representations of the Ukrainian stage connected with the ceremonies of Holy Week, scholars include two scenic fragments (with the annotation "Antyprolioh" before the first) preserved in a L'viv manuscript in the collection of A. Petruševyč.[12] Various speculations have been made as to the provenance, interdependence and scenic affiliation of these fragments. For, indeed, they themselves do not provide a basis for determining either the genealogy or contents of the lost work. Yet, their presence in this manuscript collection (most probably intended to satisfy the needs of the general audience), their unsophisticated, concise form of scenic and verbal presentation (atypical of literature for the educated classes), and their conclusion (a note in Ukrainian, in Latin transcription—"intermedia wychodyt") associate this work with the non-school, non-professional, occasional popular stage, which was surely urban and whose textmakers and performers were probably students.

Both fragments can be described as closed sequences. The first is a short and animated dialogue between three figures: Adam; Eve,

[12] The manuscript (no. 102) is now in the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in L'viv (formerly the Ossolineum). For the text see I. Franko, "Novi materijaly do istoriji ukrajins'koho vertepa," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka* 82 (1908); V. Peretc, "K istorii pol'skogo i russkogo narodnogo teatra," *Izvestija ORJaS*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1909), reprinted in Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1: 165-70. Citations are from the latter.

who has succeeded in persuading Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit; and the Angel, who makes both aware of the magnitude of their sin. This sequence is closed by the combined monologue of Adam and Eve, accompanied by the note, "Adam z Evoju dumae." This note, as well as the change in the versification (the dialogue is written in an irregular syllabic meter of ten to fifteen syllables, while the monologue is in a regular, seven-syllable meter), allows us to presume that Adam and Eve express their grief over paradise lost in a recitative similar to a *dumka*.

The second fragment is somewhat different in structure, consisting of four successive speeches with the notes "Anhel do Adama movyt," "Adam z pekla do Raju," "Davyd prorok," "Samuyl prorok." The speeches by David and Samuel seem to be monologues informing us of the freeing of the patriarchs from hell by the resurrected Christ. The fragment allows us to conceive the simplified presentation of the lost whole. In thirty-four lines of verse, it has a content equivalent to *Slovo o zburenju pekla* and other developed scenic works based, as we can judge from the preserved monuments, on the motif most popular in the early Ukrainian theater, derived from the apocryphal Gospel of Nikodem.

* * *

One of the most interesting monuments of the Ukrainian theater on the territory of the Commonwealth is that found by Jaroslav Hordyns'kyj in the village Dernovo, in the L'viv district. It is a volume of manuscripts containing a stage repertoire from the turn of the eighteenth century. The volume is, in fact, a copy belonging to the stage director of a semi-professional company. All the Ukrainian dramatic texts it contains have a clear scenic character, with many accurate didascalies. They indicate that the company was attuned to a general public, whose attention it mobilized by direct contact.[13] It is hardly disputable that the Dernov manuscript proves the existence, on the territory in question, of professionally trained Ukrainian stage companies. These companies had experienced directors, textmakers, and actors who were well acquainted with the Ukrainian and Polish school theater and other forms of the Polish theater. (I use the term "textmaker" instead of "author" precisely because one

[13] For a further discussion, see P. Lewin, *Intermedia wschodniosłowiańskie XVI-XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1967), and "Intermedia wschodniosłowiańskie a intermedia polskie," in *O wzajemnych powiązaniach literackich polsko-rosyjskich* (Wrocław, 1969). See also Lewin, "Ruskie formy parateatralne."

of the features of the repertoire of the mass theater is—as indicated by the Dernov manuscript and as noted above here—its compilatory nature. This, like the concern for the participation of the audience in creating the scenic fiction, stems from its association with folk creativity.)

These distinguishing features are also found in a work that most closely corresponds to what the critical literature calls the mystery play. This is an Easter play whose title note describes it as "Dyjaloh vo kratcî sobrannij na person sedm, na dvî časty raspoložennij. Vo peršoj časty person try budet: Adam, Evva, Anhel vyjdet. Na počatok Krasomov"ca sam po nyx vyjdet."[14] The play commences with a prologue by the "Krasomov"ca." Through such expressions as "sluxaču, zacnosty tvoja" and "aktorove ... tut prezen"tovaty budut sja vam sluxače v scenax rozmaytyx y v akcyjax veselyx," he announces the three scenes that comprise the holiday play.

The Dernov repertoire book does not give the text of the first of the announced scenes, which introduce "xlopjata maliy sja stavjat ... aktom svoym ne dolho zabavjat, yz mertvyx vostanij budut povîdaty." However, its scenic form is indicated by the note at the end of the prologue: "tut ščo xor zaspîvaet, a potom xlopjata eden po druhom vîršî budut povîdaty, a potom ščo znovu xor perespî ... ." It would seem that this was a declamation the "xlopjata" had brought from school and the director of the company had approved, unchanged, as a paratheatrical introduction—without, however, making it part of the play itself. This explains why scenes two and three, announced in the prologue, are subsequently treated, in accordance with the title note, as the first and second part of the dialogue among seven persons. According to the announcement in the prologue, Adam and Eve appear in the second scene along with an Angel who brings them news of the Saviour. The end of this part is marked by the note: "Y otydut vsî troe a xor ščo zaspîvaet, potym vyjdet sam tylko Krasomov"ca y movyt." The "Krasomov"ca" delivers the epilogue; when he goes offstage ("pojdet za zaslonu") the chorus sings its piece ("xor ščo zaspîvaet"). Thus, there is no contradiction in the fact that the third scene, as designated by the prologue, is preceded by the note, "Druhaja čast, v kotoroj try vydut persony: Xrystos, Luka y Kleopa. Perše vyjdut Apostoly, a potym do nyx

[14] For text and commentary see J. Hordyns'kyj, "Z ukrajins'koji dramatyčnoji literatury XVII-XVIII st.," in *Pam"jatky ukrajins'koji movy i literatury, vyd. Arxeografičnoji komisiji Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka* (L'viv, 1930).

Xrystos vyjdet." For this is the text of the Gospel of St. Luke, expanded to the full measure of its dramatic possibility.

In Hordyns'kyj's opinion, the close dependence on the words of the Gospel and the resultant rigorous avoidance of comic elements distinguish the Ukrainian Emmaus drama from similar dramas in other literatures. For Hordyns'kyj, the drama's closest similarity is to the sixth scene of the Polish *Historia o chwalebnym zmartwychwstaniu Pańskim* of Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko, although the latter does tend to introduce comic elements. The Galician and non-school provenance of this Ukrainian Emmaus play (which is also part of the Polish tradition) is indicated by the scenic presence of Christ, because Orthodox circles always scrupulously refrained from showing the simple folk a concrete figure of Christ "in his own person," preferring to replace him with an allegorical figure.

The text in question gives us certain information about the theatrical aspects of the play. As we see from the note above, the theater of the Dernov company used a screen behind which the "Krasomov"ca" retired after delivering the epilogue. How did this screen function? If it was a curtain, then the prologue, declamation of the "boys," and epilogue of the first part were all "delivered" from the proscenium. Yet the action of the play itself did not require changes in scenery: it could easily unfold in the same scenic space—that is, onstage. The "Krasomov"ca" and the "boys" appeared and then retired behind the screen, which hid the other players and the props from the viewers. In the second scene the action takes place in the space between the Gates of Hell, from which Christ has released Adam and Eve, and the Gates of Paradise, to which they are led by the Angel. These two sets of gates could have been represented by decorations, although this was not essential. The third scene takes place on the road to Emmaus. Neither the actor's text nor the didascalies suggest that decorations were required here, although they do allow us to reconstruct the movements of the play. After a rather animated dialogue between Luka and Kleopa comes the note: "Tu apostoly pustjatsja [v dorohu], a Xrystos javytsja ym na puty y budet pryblyžatysja ko nym, pytatysja yx, movjačy do nyx." The next note occurs before the action's culmination: "Tu posîdajut na tryatrum y rečet Xrystos." The next fragment is the most dramatic, indeed, semi-pantomimic: after only four verses (two by Christ and two by Luke), we read, "Y [Luka] vyjmet xlîb, a pered Xrysta položyt. Xrystos též perekrestyv"šy perelomyt xlîb y podast movjačy:

Y vy druzy tojžde xlîb pryjmîte,
A v"kupî so mnoju jadîte

Tu podav"šy ym xlîb nevydymo ot nyx otydet, a ony z soboju Eho ne obačyv"šy poznajut toj čas, že to Xrystos byl yz namy. Y budut movyty do sebe [two verses of dialogue] Tut sja porvut y v"stanut." From the subsequent dialogue it appears that the Apostles were looking about and that only Luke, fully convinced of the identity of the companion who has just disappeared, decides that they should immediately return to Jerusalem and console their "smut"nyx druhov," with the resulting "I otydut a xor zaspîvaet ščo."

Following the prologue, declamation, second scene, epilogue and third scene, the chorus appears. Where was it located—onstage or in the space separating the stage from the audience? Was it there during the entire performance, or did it enter only at that moment? As yet, we do not know. However, we can be fairly certain that the role of the "Krasomov"ca" was played by the director of the company—the most educated and distinguished of the actors—for his monologues, as Hordyns'kyj notes, are marked by an elevated style.

Thus we see that the feast-day play presented by the Dernov company was based on conscious compilations of pathetic monologues on the meaning of Christ's resurrection for mankind (these also announced and concluded the function—i.e., served as prologue and epilogue), school declamations, and two acts from a mystery play, which could also be played separately and in other combinations. Here, we might note that in contrast to the considerable number of preserved monuments relating to Holy Week, the Ukrainian non-school drama from the territory of the Commonwealth is remarkably modest in regard to other feast days on the Church calendar.

A few scenic fragments were also preserved in a L'viv manuscript from the mid-seventeenth century. It contains as one continuous unit three "scenes or exits" ("scena ... albo ysxoždenye")—the fifth, sixth and seventh. Separately, there are also a *Prolog na Bože Narodzenie* and an *Epilog na Bože Narodzenie*.[15] The fifth scene differs fundamentally from the other two, which are similar in plot and style: it is a typical product of the school theater and Baroque poetics. Three allegorical figures—the sinful Soul, the sinful Flesh,

[15] For the text see V. Peretc, "K istorii pol'skogo i russkogo narodnogo teatra," *Izvestija ORJaS*, vol. 12, no. 4 (1908); reprinted in Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka*, 1: 171-81. Citations are from the reprint.

and God's Mercy—appear and speak in an emphatic style, replete with rhetorical questions and exclamations, exaggerated attributes (e.g., "smutku moj neznosnyj, žalju oplakannyj"; "žalju moj velykyj"; "svîtlosty veselaja"; "Bože tvorče, skarbe moj"; "hrîxom ztem"nîlaja duša," etc.), and numerous repetitions (the most frequently used word is *zmylujsja*). Their gesticulation is also characterized by emphasis. Thus, the introductory note announces that "Duša hrîšnaja vyxodyt z Tîlom hrîšnyka." The Soul accuses the Flesh of sin, whereupon the latter justifies itself by accusing the world that deceived it and declares that one must beg God for forgiveness. Then comes the note: "Tuž Duša prypavšy na kolîna yz Tîlom hrîšnym, obernuvšy očy do neba, volajut." The title note over Mercy's speech informs us that it entered "yz svîčoju zapalennoju" and that it brought the news that "Oto nynî Boh v tîlî sam z panny sja rodyt." Speaking for itself and the Flesh, the Soul thanks the Creator and "Tut poklonyvšysja Myloserdiju božomu Duša y Tîlo otxodjat vosvojasy z Myloserdiem božym."

By contrast, scenes six and seven, although differing in length, share the apocryphal features of the mystery play characteristic of the mass, non-school theater in the cultural sphere in question. In my opinion, the sixth scene should be seen as a developed act consisting of four scenes which are clearly distinguishable by the title notes that summarize the content (the so-called arguments), i.e.: (1) "Zaxaryja napered vyjdet svjatytel y usjadet sobî na ok [...],[16] a potem Ioakym yz An"noju žertvu vynesut"; (2) "Anhel Božyj blahovîstyt Annî, že mîet porodyty Presvjatuju Pannu, kotoraja stanet sja matkoju Xrystovoju"; (3) "Tut zaspîvajut 'o Marie y devyce prečystaja [...] a po spîvannju vyxodyt Ioakym y pryvodjat do [...][17] prečystuju Pannu, vedluh pysm, v trox jako by lîtex"; (4) "Tut prečystaja Bohurodyca budet meškaty v cerkvî Solomonovoj, a Zaxaryja pryzyvaet Iosyfa do sebe, xotjačy emu zlecyty u opeku prečystuju Pannu." The action throughout takes place in the same setting, "in Solomon's church," but the actor's text shows that the events of the third scene are separated from the preceding two by a period of about four years, and from those in the fourth by another several years. As we see from the arguments, only specific figures appear, whose dialogue is quite animated and rapid: there is a predominance of two-, four-,

[16] Illegible in the manuscript.
[17] [...]—obliterated in the manuscript.

and six-line speeches in irregular syllabic meter. The language is not as ornate as in the fifth scene, but it is not without an elevated tone, imparted by the rhetorical questions and exclamations directed to God. A lyrical element is provided by diminutives (Joachim brings God an "ovčatko" and Anna asks God for progeny, since by His grace all creatures give birth to "ditočky"), and by references to simple human concerns as well as sublimely religious ones. Zachary hesitates before accepting the three-year-old Mary in the church, from ordinary concern for the child: "Ednak že malaja dščer, abŷ ne tužyla, // Že pry matery svojej malo ščo požyla." Joachim begs God for children so as not to be shamed before people, and then departs to live out his last years in the desert with his flocks. Joseph, an improverished craftsman, is afraid to accept Mary, for he often ("častokrot") must leave home to work, when someone could lead the girl astray; he fears both God's curse and shame in his declining years. The sixth scene ends with this note, which follows Joseph's last speech: "Tut Zaxaryja odxodyt, a prečystaja Panna stojačy psaltyr čytaty, a xor budet spîvaty: 'Blahovîstvuj, zemle, radost velyju, pojte, nebesa, Božyju slavu.'"

The seventh scene unfolds in the same sequence of plot and events, prefaced by the note: "Budet Havryyl blahovîstyty prečystoj pannî roždestvo Boha-Slova, a pryneset prečystoj kvît vmîsto nebesnaho upomynku." The dialogue between the Archangel and Mary is connected with the last sequence in the sixth scene by the silent presence of Joseph, mentioned in the last note: "Y otxodyt Anhel, tak"že y Prečystaja z Iosyfom." The manuscript ends with "Konec scenam považnym vsîm."

Critical opinion is divided as to during which church feast these dramatic fragments were presented, as well as to the form of the whole performance. Peretc and Petrov believed that these three scenes are the remaining fragment of a mystery play staged for the Annunciation.[18] Rjezanov, however, considered all these manuscript texts to be fragments of a larger play for Christmas. The texts themselves do not support either of these opinions unequivocally. It seems most likely that they are remnants from the repertoire of semi-professional seasonal companies representing a popular, occasional theater. The original repertoire used fragments from school works directly or adapted for a general audience; these drew on the authors' imagi-

[18] See N. Petrov, "Očerki iz istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVII-XVIII vv.," in *Kievskaja iskusstvennaja literatura XVII-XVIII vv., preimuščestvenno dramatičeskaja* (Kiev, 1911).

nation and capabilities, as well as on folk and school traditions. These components were assembled in varying, not always equally coherent combinations. Each component could have multiple applications, making it suitable for various occasions. In the given case, the prologue and epilogue were permanently tied to the celebration of Christmas, while the three scenes described above could be used either together or separately, in mystery play combination, for the feast of the Annunciation or for Christmas.

* * *

The same manuscript preserving such fragmentary representations of the Ukrainian non-school theater on the territory of the Commonwealth as the declamation *Viršy na voskresenye Xrystovo* and two copies of the ribald intermedium *Baba, Dziad i Diabeł* also contains two fragments of a play about Lazarus and the Rich Man. The theme is a parable popular in many national dramas (cf. the Polish *Tragedia o Bogaczu i Lazarzu*, from Gdańsk), based on the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke. The schema of the Ukrainian play, basically that of a morality play, can be reconstructed from the preserved fragments.[19] It is a scenic presentation of the consequences of the choices which man, constantly beset by the powers of good and evil, must make in daily life. Here we find only one speech by Lazarus, which comes at the beginning of the first fragment.

Lazarus asks God to punish the malice ("zlosty") of the one who did not show him mercy ("kotrij ne pokazal ... mylosty"), i.e., the Rich Man, and to grant him, in His mercy, eternal rest and acceptance by Christ. Appearing on stage with Lazarus are two angels, a Musician, the Rich Man, the Brother of the Rich Man, and probably the Rich Man's servants and companions. After the speech by Lazarus, the First Angel turns to the Rich Man, who is making merry and begrudges even a moment's attention. The sequence of events leads one to presume that this scene and the following ones were staged against a banquet in the Rich Man's house. The Angel not only accuses the Rich Man of lacking pity, but also predicts his swift punishment "v vîčnoy temnosty," where he will be tormented "z Lucyperom," while "on nyščij"—i.e., Lazarus—will "u Avraama pokarm mîty" and will not respond to the Rich Man's pleas for help.

[19] For the text see Franko, "Novi materialy," and Peretc, "K istorii pol'skogo i russkogo narodnogo teatra," pp. 153-58. Citations are from the latter.

After this speech follow the note "Lazara poneset" and the speech of the second Angel, directed first to Lazarus (incipit: "Pojdy, Lazar nyščij, na Avraamovo lono") and then (after eight verses) to another addressee (perhaps the Rich Man's servants or companions):

> Y vam rozkazuju, byste tîlo vzjaly,
> Vedluh zvyčaju xrystijanskaho poxovaly.
> Toho bohača vŷ ne sluxayte jak žyvo,
> Bo y vŷ z nym budete v peklî maty žnyvo.

The Rich Man doubts the divinity of the newcomers and the prediction of Lazarus' fate after death (incipit: "Ja tomu ne vîru, žebŷ ony ot Boha bŷly, // Žebŷ tuju trudovatu dušu do neba vzjaly"). Yet, the Brother of the Rich Man announces his decision to follow the leper and subsequently report to the Rich Man whether he has seen "pravdu čy kryvdu." The Musician also departs after Lazarus, renouncing his craft and discarding "skrypku svoju"; he desires "nyščoho vŷprovažaty," so that Lazarus will intercede with God for him, "nenznŷm."

The fragment of the play in which all those present at the banquet leave the Rich Man (one by one?) is missing, for following the Musician's speech the manuscript contains a speech by the Rich Man (without beginning or title) expressing surprise and fear of loneliness (incipit: "Ščosja za čuda takie staly, // Že my sja vsî pootrîkaly"). The Rich Man complains that "ne tylko sluhy moja ... leč y corka" left him for Lazarus. This, however, does not break his pride, and he prepares to luxuriate alone.

Just as the pleas of the humiliated and tormented Lazarus—the bearer of a rightly perceived truth—are answered by the appearance of an Angel come to take him to heaven for the ultimate reward, so also the ultimate expression of undaunted self-confidence, heedless of all warnings—the bearer of wrongly perceived truth—calls forth a punishing power. All this is in accordance with the schema of a morality play. The note "Smert' vŷxodyt y movyt do bohača" marks the beginning of the next scene, one in which the First Devil and the Second Devil also participate. Although they undoubtedly appeared onstage simultaneously with Death, they enter into the action only after the exchange of statements by the major speakers. The actor's text for the Rich Man requires the performer to show submissiveness toward just judgment and punishment and to acknowledge the vanity of earthly riches. The role of the Rich Man culminates with a moral and a farewell to the audience:

Pryjatelî, už toho svîta odxožaju,
A vam čynyty tak ne pozvaljaju.
Vŷ mylostŷnju nyščym y ubohim davajte
A z dvorov svoyx ne vŷpŷxajte.
Už sja teper, druhy, žehnaju,
Na tamtom svîtî vas očykyvaju.

It is possible that the Rich Man's departure for hell was accompanied by a scuffle with the Devils, for the First Devil says:

Ja už tvoju ponesu do pekla dušu,
A svoyx tovaryšov po tvoe tîlo zaprošu.

But the Second Devil intervenes:

Stuj, brate, počekaj,
A menî tuju dušu v ruky daj,
A ja pred svoym staršym nex poxvaljusja
Y na vyššiy honor voznesusja.

The note "Čortŷ bohača berut" indicates that together the two Devils carry the Rich Man off to hell.

Another part of this manuscript contains a fragment of a later act from the same play. A dialogue between the Soul of the Rich Man and the two angels (occurring, perhaps, on the way to hell) takes place in the next world. The Soul repents that it did nothing but gratify the body; the First Angel, moreover, accuses it of scorning Lazarus. The Soul expresses the hope that the resurrected Christ will save it along with the others, but the First Angel deprives it of this hope, calling the "sluhy pekelnŷe" to take the Soul of the Rich Man "v mîsta temnŷe." The Second Angel repeats the accusations and justifies the Rich Man's terrible punishment. The main function of this part, which does not develop the action, seems to be to reiterate the main premise of the play—that is, the consequences of evil. The basic device is the repetition of the same message, by every character in each speech, with a gradual amplification of the form of the statement and an accumulation of details about the torments of hell designed to stimulate the imagination of the audience. Here one might note that the school origin of plays performed by the mass theater may be indicated by the consistent length of the speeches in the preserved fragments. In this play's banquet scene, for example, Lazarus, the First Angel, and the Second Angel speak twelve lines each; subsequently, the Rich Man, his Brother and the Musician speak four lines each.

The Ukrainian religious drama of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as part of the repertoire of the popular theater on the territory of the Commonwealth, developed on the boundary between written and folk literature. Its anonymous authors were tied both by origin and in Weltanschauung to the town intelligentsia, the Orthodox burghers, and the peasantry. The occasional religious stage they serviced—as seen from the texts discussed here—appears to have been a professional theater with much dramatic efficacy. This drama and stage undoubtedly occupy an important place in the popular culture of the Ukraine, particularly of its western lands. Testifying to its importance are the richness of this theater's dramatic and scenic devices, and the extent of its religious and ethical content. In reconstructing the history of the Ukraine's drama and theater, the Ukrainian religious drama of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must, therefore, be taken into account.

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DOCUMENTS

THE IMPERIAL INVITATION TO THE COSSACKS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1632)

ALEXANDER BARAN

Recent research in Viennese archives has disclosed new source material on the Ukrainian Cossacks during the time of the Thirty Years' War. The documents of this find that are most interesting depict the diplomatic struggle to secure the Cossacks' military support. Not all the materials of this diplomatic game can be given here. Presented, however, are five of the most important documents concerning the official invitation to the Cossacks in 1632 to participate in the war on the side of the Holy Roman Empire. In approaching these documents let us briefly summarize the overall situation of the empire and the imperial struggles in the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War.

After the end of the Danish phase of the Thirty Years' War (1628) it appeared that the emperor Ferdinand II had won the war and that the Holy Roman Empire would be constitutionally renewed under his leadership. On 6 March 1629, however, Ferdinand issued his unfortunate Edict of Restitution, which banned Calvinism, forbade Protestants to buy church estates, and invalidated the previous court decisions on the matter of church possessions, thereby subjecting them to the emperor's exclusive ownership. The implementation of these resolutions was assigned to special commissioners against whom the regional diets could not protest.[1] With this edict, therefore, Ferdinand turned the constitutional battle of the empire onto the battlefield of religion. But in order to carry out these measures he had to reinforce his military strength, which rested on Wallenstein's army. Conscious of his importance, Wallenstein began to reinforce his army by recruiting new mercenaries—more as a confirmation of his authority than as a strict enactment of the edict. This frightened the members of

[1] C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years' War* (New York, 1961), p. 235.

the Catholic League, particularly Maximilian of Bavaria. Together with the neutralist electors from Saxony and Brandenburg, Maximilian began to demand a new supreme commander.[2]

Meanwhile, a new enemy had appeared from the north—the Swedes. The Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, who ended his war with Poland on 26 September 1629 with the Treaty of Altmark, was contemplating an invasion of Germany in order to champion the cause of the Protestants against the supporters of the Edict of Restitution. Ignoring the Swedish danger, the emperor summoned a council of electors to Regensburg in an effort to resolve the constitutional problems of the empire. At this council, held in July 1630, the Catholic electors demanded the removal of Wallenstein, while the Protestants argued for the repeal of the Edict of Restitution. To secure votes, Ferdinand dismissed Wallenstein, but would not agree to the repeal of the edict. This was a fatal mistake, since Gustavus Adolphus, backed by French financial aid, had already begun to invade Germany, thus forcing the Protestant electors of Saxony-Brandenburg to join his coalition against the emperor.[3]

Wallenstein retreated to Bohemia with his private forces, leaving the empire's defense to the exhausted army of the Catholic League, led by General Tilly and the light cavalry of Pappenheim. These forces clashed with the Swedish army on 18 September 1631 at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig. In this battle Tilly's army was totally defeated, and Tilly himself was seriously wounded; the army was saved from total annihilation only through the heroism of Pappenheim's cavalry.[4]

After this victory, Gustavus Adolphus marched as far as Bavaria with his Swedish and German armies, while the Saxon armies of General Arnim marched to northern Bohemia. Aware of the emperor's critical situation, Gustavus Adolphus wanted to administer a final blow by opening a second front. On the advice of Cardinal Richelieu, he began to negotiate with the Transylvanians, the Turks, and the Tatars about undertaking military action against the Hapsburgs of Hungary.[5] At this point, the emperor hastened to remember his former friends—Wallenstein and the Ukrainian Cossacks. He needed Wallenstein to defeat Gustavus Adolphus and the Ukrainian Cossacks

[2] Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 236-238.
[3] A. W. Ward, "Gustavus Adolphus," *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 4 (London, 1907), pp. 198-200.
[4] Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 287-291.
[5] Docs. 1 and 2.

to forestall a possible Turkish-Tatar attack on Hungary. The emperor's agents began negotiations with Wallenstein at the end of 1631.[6] On 20 February 1632 the emperor instructed his ambassador in Warsaw, Matthias Arnoldini of Klarstein, to procure military support for the Zaporozhian Sich with Polish agreement. In his instructions the emperor mentioned that Arnoldini could also turn for help to the Ruthenian *voievoda*, Stanisław Lubomirski.[7]

In compliance with this instruction, Arnoldini delivered an impassioned speech in the Polish Diet on March 22 before King Władysław IV and nearly all the senators of the kingdom.[8] In his pleas Arnoldini briefly described the military failures of the Hapsburg dynasty and the critical position of the empire caused by the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus. He announced that the enemy was even instigating the Turk and Tatar non-believers to attack the Austrian ruler and the Christian princes of the empire. For this reason, the emperor was sending his envoys to all Christian kings, asking them to defend the "Christian cause." He especially depended upon Poland, with whom the empire and individual Habsburg kingdoms had long-established ties and a treaty signed by Ferdinand himself in 1621.[9] On the basis of this treaty, the emperor had already used Polish help against insurgency in the empire.[10] The emperor now called upon Poland's support, especially since their common enemy was involved. He asked the Polish king and Diet to enlist the might of the Zaporozhian Cossacks against the pending invasion of the Turks and Tatars since the Cossacks could best stop the attacking "barbarians."[11]

The official reply came on April 7 through Ives Lipski, the represenitive of the Polish king. Lipski acknowledged Arnoldini's request on behalf of the king and the Polish Diet. However, he said, due to the difficult situation in Poland and the danger of war with Muscovy, he could only promise that the Cossacks would engage the Turkish-Tatar armies if they should march on the emperor's dominions through Polish territory. If these armies crossed by way of Moldavia, Wallachia, or Transylvania, however, the Polish king expected the

[6] Wedgwood, *Thirty Years' War*, pp. 304-309.
[7] Doc. 1.
[8] Doc. 2.
[9] G. Gajecky and A. Baran, *The Cossacks in the Thirty Years' War*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1969), pp. 35-37, 60-63.
[10] Gajecky and Baran, *Cossacks*, pp. 31-88.
[11] Doc. 2.

emperor to have had enough time to establish a defense for his dominions without Cossack assistance.[12]

Arnoldini could not accept this diplomatic refusal On the emperor's orders, he turned to Stanisław Lubomirski, asking him to intercede with the Zaporozhian Cossacks directly.[13] Arnoldini even planned a personal visit to Zaporozhe to persuade the Cossacks to take active part in the war.[14] However, Lubomirski did not live up to Arnoldini's hopes. Since he was not on good terms with the Cossacks at the time, Lubomirski tried to discredit them before Arnoldini.[15] Also, he refused to begin any negotiations without the express approval of Władysław IV and the Polish Diet. Using these arguments he wrote two letters to Arnoldini, dissuading him from any contact with the Zaporozhians.[16] Yet, Arnoldini's attemps to involve the Cossacks in the Thirty Years' War were not in vain : upon receiving word of the emperor's plans, the Cossacks began contacting the commanders on their own and enlisting in his mercenary army without the knowledge of the Poles. Thus, in 1632-1633 more than 6,000 Cossacks were fighting in the emperor's armies under the leadership of Colonel Virus'kyi.[17]

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Document 1

Vienna, 20.2.1632

The emperor's letter to his ambassador in Warsaw, Matthias Arnoldini, instructing him : (1) to secure the help of the Zaporozhian Cossacks against the possible Turkish-Tatar or Transylvanian attack : (2) to consult and discuss all the plans connected with the matter of Transylvania with the Ruthenian voievoda, *Stanislaw Lubomirski.*

Haus-Hof-Staats Archiv, Polen I, Karton 55, Konv. Febr. (1632), fol. 27-35.

Ferdinandus etc.

Instructio pro honorabile nostro et Sacri Imperii fideli, dilecto Matthia Arnoldino a Clarstein Equite Aurato, consiliario nostro Imperiali

[12] Doc. 3.
[13] Doc. 4.
[14] Docs. 4 and 5.
[15] Docs. 4 and 5.
[16] Docs. 4 and 5.
[17] M. Dzieduszycki, *Krōtki rys dziejōw i spraw Lisowczykōw*, vol. 2 (L'viv, 1843-44), pp. 475-479.

Aulico et Secretario Arcano, quid nostro nomine apud Serenissimum Poloniae ac Sveciae Regem nec non eiusdem Regni Poloniae Proceres agere et negociari debeat.

...........(Agitur de renovandis pactis foederibusque Imperium inter et Regnum Poloniae).......................

(f. 33v) Quibus addet deinde, cum copertum sit idque Serenitatem Suam et Inclytos Regni Ordines minime omnium lateat, quibus promissis et per quos ministros et commissarios suos saepedictus hostis noster undique atque adeo ab ipsa Porta Ottomanica et populo Tartarorum aliisque Nobis vel ipsimet Regno Poloniae infensis aut infidis nationibus auxilia in Nos solicitare non dubitet. Id vero omnino providendum videri qua via conatibus eiusdem hostis et cum Tartarorum, ut fertur, iam meditatae irruptioni, vel Ragoczii, si is ex Transylvania, ut dicitur, aliquid tentare vellet, molitioni occurratur scire Nos quas copias Cosacchorum Saporowskiorum adversum barbarorum impetus ad manum semper habeant, has easdem, ut iam cum numero si is esset minor quam pro periculo, tum caeteris rebus confirmare simulque sub stipendiis et signis (f. 34) suis adversus hunc hostem oppositas tenere velint. Quod cur ita petamus dominus Consiliarius noster, rationes, quas ipse optime novit, explicabit.

Et ad evitandas Transylvani insidias cum nobis Palatini Lubemiriensis Waivoda Rusky opera, ex causis saepememorato Consiliario nostro cognitis haud parum opportuna videatur pro sua prudentia occulte et apud quos videbitur explorabit, an et qua ratione vel via is ad colligendam ac alendam suo sumptu popularium manum induci possit; scire Nos dicet, quo loco ipse apud omnes sit quidve inter suos possit, quantum apud militem gratia et auctoritate valeat, itaque, si velit, non dubitare Nos, quin Nobis in hac parte gratificari possit, et de voluntate, quo minus dubitemus, aeque multas Nos causas habere; ita inprimis de virtute ipsius sentire, ut eum Reipublicae causa non minus velle quam posse existimemus (f. 34v) non passurum illum suam opem a Sacro Romano Imperio, cuius ipse Comitis titulo gaudeat, hoc tempore desiderari, expertos Nos idem in aliis rebus; Nolle autem nec posse Nos desiderare, ut quantum satis sit contra illum metum ipse suis impensis cogat, alatur, cupere Nos submittere et submissuros duas Legiones peditum Germanorum cum bis mille equitibus et aliis mille sclopetariis, quos Dracones vocant, ad pugnam equo vel pede ineundam habilibus. His copiis confidere Nos, non modo Ragochii conatus reprimi, sed alibi quoque si nihil moveat, utiles diversiones eieri posse. Etsi, quod omnino speremus his armis

successus sit, non defore, unde vel in Transylvania vel ex bonis ipsiusmet Ragochii vel aliunde ex Provinciis occupatis; eidem pro impensis, ex modo liberalitatis nostrae cumulate satisfiat, de quo dubitare non debeat............(f. 35)

Porro in his omnibus dextre proponendis Dominus Consiliarius noster solita fide et prudentia sua, tum ipsiusmet Regis consilio utetur, dabitque operam, ut tota hac negociatione sua quam maxime ex voto perfungatur, sitque, cur Eidem de gratia nostra Caesarea, qua in illum iam ante propendemus, magis magisque testari velimus. Datum Viennae die 20 Februarii, Anno Domini 1632.

Document 2

Warsaw, 22.3.1632

The speech that the imperial ambassador, Arnoldini, delivered to the Polish Diet. After describing the critical state of the empire and pointing to the imminent danger of a Turkish-Tatar attack, he begs assurance that the Zaporozhian Cossacks will be permitted to intercede, since they alone can block the passage of the Turkish-Tatar armies.

Haus-Hof-Staats Archiv, Polen I, Karton 55, Konv. Martz (1632), fol. 119-122.

Sacratissime, Potentissime, atque Invictissime Rex, Domine Benignissime. Reverendissimi itidem, atque Illustrissimi, Illustres ac Generosi Domini Senatores, Magnates ac Proceres Inclyti Poloniae Regni, Domini pariter Observandissimi.

Sacra Caesarea ac Hungariae Bohemiaeque Regia Maestas Dominus meus Clementissimus, Serenissimae Regiae Maestati Vestrae, Domino Affini, Amico, Vicino ac Fratri suo Charissimo, a Deo Salutis Authore salutem plurimam, valetudinem firmam ac constantem, nec non diuturni regiminis sui prosperos eosque exoptatissimos successus longaevamque faelicitatem, nec non Victorias contra suos Regnorumque ac Provinciarum suarum hostes et insidiatores ex animo precatur. Vestris etiam Reverendissimis atque Illustrissimis Celsitudinibus ac Paternitatibus, Illustris itidem ac Magnificis Dominationibus Vestris gratiam ac benevolentiam suam Caesaream perbenigne defert et quemadmodum illarum erga se suamque Domum observantiam et singulare studium magni semper fecit, ita non dubitat ad petitiones suas per me proponendas esse faciles et promptas exhibituras, atque suffragiis suis, ut necessitates publicae exigunt, secundaturas esse.

Antequam vero ad ipsa principia causasque ablegationis meae veniam, operae pretium, necessariumque esse duxi, ut litteris praelibatae Sacrae Maestatis Caesareae Domini mei Clementissimi Regiae Maestati Vestrae Senatuique amplissimo ante omnia exhibeam, quibus prioribus binis fides et autoritas huic legationi meae tribuitur, posterioribus vero de origine et causis tam praeteritorum, quam eorum, quibus etiam nunc hodie in Imperio concutimur, motuum, uti brevissima, ita verissima ratione redditur. Causam harum scribendarum Sacrae Maestati Caesareae prebuere calumniae malevolorum hominum, qui si falsam de Consiliis et actionibus et sincera intentione ac mente Sacrae Maestatis simpliciori vulgo, et ad credendum faciliori plebi obtrudant et (f. 119v) persuadeant, magnum sese fulcrum seu firmamentum iniustae et iniquae causae comparasse arbitrantur. Atque idcirco cum eadem Maestas eodem plane argumento litteras ad diversos Reges, Principes, Communitates et Status miserit, easdem etiam Maestati Vestrae Regiae melioris salutem ac sanioris informationis causa per me adferri et offerri voluit.

Caeterum, quamvis praecipuum huius legationis meae caput et ratio sit cum Maestate Vestra Regia atque inclyti huius Regni Senatoribus et Magnatibus de paeresenti rerum statu, nec non de periculis, quae Imperio, Regnis et Provinciis Sacrae Maestatis haereditariis atque huic amplissimo Regno communia sunt, confidenter conferre, nec non quibus mediis et modis iisdem obviandum sit, uberius communicare.

Nullatenus tamen dubitare velim Sacrae Maestati Vestrae Regiae omnibusque in hoc celeberrimo consessu congregatis Proceribus et Optimatibus iam antea compertum esse, qualis et quam miserabilis hoc tempore Germaniae nostrae tot annorum bellis alias ante exhaustae et defessae moderna sit conditio, ac proinde fusa ad nauseam et molestiam Maestatis Vestrae Regiae uti narratione minime opus esse existimo. Quotusquisque enim ignorat hostem illum acrem et violentum ab ipsis Maris Baltici Insulis exitum, cum totius Pomeraniae et Megapoleos Ducatum, tum Electoratum Branderburgicum ad obsequium coegisset. Albis fluviis ripis sine impedimento superatis coniunctisque cum Electoris Saxoniae viribus maiorem partem Exercitus Caesarei quippe tum copiis imparem ad Lipsiam infaelici pugna fregisse, et hinc victoria parta armisque prolatis, quicquid Catholicorum Ordinum et Statuum Saxonico, Westphalico, Rhenensi et Franconico circulis continebatur, uno scilicet atque altero ad Rhenum post se relicto fortalitio usque ad ipsam Argentinam Urbem Galliae limitaneam sub potestatem et contributiones suas compulisse; Ex altera

vero parte, praefatum Saxonem irruptione in Regnum Bohemiae facta Pragam ipsam Regni Metropolim ac Regiam sedem nullo resistente adortam ex improviso occupasse, illamque etiamnum (f. 120) adhuc infestis armis tenere. Ad haec novas atque maiores copias quotidie ubique conscribi, novos indies apparatus fieri.

Rebus itaque taliter in Imperio et Regno Bohemiae sese habentibus, cum Rex Franciae Sveco confaederatus etiam valido exercitu succinctus absque ulla legitima causa imo contra Pacificationis Ratisboniensis expressissima pacta et leges Austrasiae fines occupasset, atque ita Germanicum, quamdiu stetit Imperium nunquam a tot adeoque potentibus tam externis quam internis hostibus, insidiis etiam et dissidiis divisum afflictumque impeti quassarique cerneretur.

Maestas sua Caesarea quo tot undique ingruentibus periculis obviaretur, nihil neque diligentiae, neque laboris aut curarum omisit, sed (cum in Imperio subsidia pleraque iam succisa videret) Regnis et Provinciis suis ingentes contributiones et simul totum fere tanti belli onus imposuit.

Praeterea cum inimicus pro iniquitate causae praetensionumque suarum tuenda et stabilienda etiam infideles, Turcas et Tartaros contra Domum Austriacam et fideles eidem adhuc adhaerentes Imperii Principes concitare et in auxilium suum vocare non dubitarit, etiam ipsa Maestas Caesarea de conservatione et salute merito perquam sollicita statuit ad externos, sed Christianos Reges et Principes tantum Oratores et Legatos suos decernere atque ad defensionem rei Christianae benigne et peramanter invitare. Et sane, nemo facile negabit eam Romani Imperii dignitatem et excellentiam fuisse semper, ut veluti reliqua sidera a solo sole lumen suum, ita ab eodem Imperio caetera Christiana regna splendorem suum habeant, atque ita vel hac sola de causa omnes Christiani Reges et Principes ad defensionem eiusdem Imperii excitari debeant.

Hanc enim illarum Monarchiarum sive Principatuum unicam ac solan superesse, de qua in Sacris litteris tam varia eaque multiplicia extant Vaticinia, ut qua stante reliqua Regna et Principatus superesse, immota stare posse, ita hac intereunte caetera quoque regna interitura omnino credendum sit. (f. 120v).

Huius Imperii potentia (ut veterum monumenta testantur) quam paucissimis hactenus et quidem non nisi certissimis et gravissimis de causis gravis et onerosa fuit; ab eodem autem auxilium et praesidium omnibus aeque submissum subministratumque semper fuisse constat, sive quis hostis externus vel barbarus amicorum aut vicina Regna

invaderet, reprimendo, sive si ipsi Christiani Reges vel Principes inter se quandoque dissiderent, discordias eorundem ac dissensiones temperando.

Itaque ab iis, quibus commodo vires Imperii aliquando fuerunt, nunc quando ipsum eorum ope indiget minime deserendum esse et hac unica potissimum occasione toti mundo constabit, quo quisque in Rempublicam animo sit, et qualiter ad praesentes totius Christianitatis necessitates moveatur.

Praeter has vero rationes, quae aeque ad omnes pertinent, peculiares perfecto causae sunt, quae inter utramque Maestatem Caesaream et Regiam nec non utriusque Regna et Provincias intercedunt, ob quas Vestra Maestas universumque Poloniae Regnum piissimo Imperatori et quidem signanter haereditariis eiusdem Provinciis hoc tempore adeo periclitantibus succurrere coprimis debeat.

Etenim (ut caetera necessitudinum cognationis, affinitatis et Viciniae tot tamque multiplicia vincula taveantur) Faedera iam antiquitus inter Reges et Principes Hungariae, Bohemiae et Austriae nec non Potentissimos Poloniae Reges firmata extant, quibus ut Pax et Unio utrinque quam arctissime sancita, ita inter alia in iis hoc expresse cautum est, ne alter alteri contra inimicos suos consilio vel ope unquam deesse debeat.

Horum faederum leges nostra memoria et quidem adhuc anno 1621 ab utraque Maestate non solum confirmatae, sed etiam inter utriusque Maiores hactenus religiose semper custoditae et observatae fuerunt.

Ex huius tam praeclarae coniunctionis et faederis observantia (f. 121) quantum in utramque partem commodorum saepe profectum sit, nostris etiam temporibus ipsa experientia testis edocuit, quando in primis Sacra Caesarea Maestas vel ad debellandos rebelles egregia et fideli Polonorum opera multis occasionibus usa est, et eandem vicem Copiae Caesareanae Maestati Vestrae et Regno superiori bello Svecico fortiter rependerunt.

Quare, cum et hic ipse, quem modo in Germania habemus hostem, inter caeteras, quas praetendit invadendi Imperii causas, hanc potissimam alleget rationem, quod bello Polono Svecico ex parte Sacrae Caesareae Maestatis contra ipsum Imperiales Aquilae in Borussiam illatae sint, hinc est quod S. Maestas et S. Imperium certam hoc tempore contra eundem hostem subsidii Polonici implorandi causam et impetrandi fiduciam habeat, cum praesertim eiusdem Regni et Ordinum aeque ac Romani Imperii hic res agatur, nec minus ab illo nobis in Imperio quam ipsimet Regno Poloniae periculum imminere

videatur, ideoque ut causa, ita et hostis hic utrique communis censeri debeat.

Non equidem ignoramus, quae indutiae et quibus illae conditionibus superioribus annis cum eodem pactae sint, quoties autem ab eodem violatae pariter fuerint, ipsi Status huius Regni non semel experti sunt, quando ipsorummet fidem et constantiam Regi suo iuratam temerario ausu Legati sui tentare, et milites subditosque Regni ad seditionem et defectionem, tum per Legatos, tum Legatorum litteras permovere hucusque non intermittit.

Ast ea pacta etiamsi ab eo violata non essent, antiquioribus tamen faederum conventionibus inter utriusque Maestatis Regna et Provincias iam pridem existentibus et stabilitis minime derogasse censenda sunt, quandoquidem tum temporis, quando ea conclusa fuerunt, incertus hic casus fuit, atque ita in conventionem venisse minime praesumendum est.

His itaque aliisque plurimis de causis quas omnes recensere mihi perquam difficile aliisque molestum foret, saepememorata (f. 121v) Maestas S. Caesarea Dominus meus Clementissimus inprimis Maestatem Vestram Regiam amplissimosque Regni Ordines ac Status peramanter et benignissime requirit et adhortatur, ut praeallegatorum pactorum antiquorum, nec non responsi et promissionis Regiae Universique Regni mihi internuncio Caesareo 30 Martii anno 1626 dati memores, de Germaniae nostrae periculoso statu hostiumque progressu, eventuque rerum incertissima iam (dum tempus est) mature deliberare nec sese a communi defensionis causa separare, verum de auxiliis ex mutua promissione et obligatione sperandis, adhuc durantibus Comitiis certi aliquid statuere et ordinare velint, ut eis Maestas Sua Caesarea pro necessitate et libitu suo adhuc hoc anno contra hostem utrique Maestati communem utiliter uti fruique queat.

Praevideant et considerent iam pericula quae hoc Regnum et Respublicam olim haud dubie incurrere possit, si quando hic hostis (quod Deus avertat) suppressis in Imperio Catholicis Statibus et fractis discipatisque Serenissimae Domus Austriacae viribus triumphaturus esset; perpendant et quidem serio perpendant, an tum etiam armis eiusdem tot accessibus adauctis Regnum Poloniae et Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae ad resistendum par viribus esse queat, hoc vero unicum saltem pro certo sibi persuasum habeant, satius et melius esse, iam in tempore de futuris malis avertendis sollicitum esse, sibique praesidium una cum Domo Austriaca, quo in hostem suo tempore utantur, Regnumque ac Provincias suas amplissimas securas reddant, proinde

comparare, quam esse spectatores nostrae ruinae, et maiori postea eiusdem hostis adeo potentis et maxima meditantis crudelitate obruantur.

Ad haec, cum hostis Serenissimae Domus Austriacae per Ministros ac Legatos suos ubique terrarum ac gentium atque adeo ab ipsa porta Otthomanica et populo Tartarorum, inclyti huius Regni abiuratis et infestissimis Nationibus auxilia, eruptiones, et incursus in vicina Regna Christiana continuo et indesinenter sollicitare non desistat (f. 122) ideoque S. Maestas non immerito pertimescat, ne Tartari adhuc proxima aestate vel per Walachiam vel Moldaviam aut certe minorem Poloniam impetu in Hungariam vel Moraviam facto exercitum Caesareum ab intentione sua alio divertat, et cogat, ut, dum ei a fronte cum hoste pugnandum erit, hoc uno eodemque tempore a tergo de Christianorum Regnorum et Ditionum haereditariarum magis necessaria defensione simul occupari et paratus esse debeat.

Itaque perquam sollicita S. Maestas Maestatem Vestram Regiam Regnique Ordines pro suo affectu et solita fiducia maiorem in modum requirit et hortatur, ut in hoc praesertim periculo toti Christianitati imminenti inprimis et quam impense curent, ut, siquidem hoc tempore maiores quam unquam Cosaccorum Zaporoviensium copias ad reprimendos horum Barbarorum impetus et cohibendas, quas timemus invasiones, ad manum paratissimas teneant, per Generalem suum Campiductorem diligenter providere et ordinare velint, ut horum Cosaccorum saepius exercitata et probata Fortitudine a finibus Christianorum longe repellantur.

Et si forsam Copiae Cosaccorum ad vim hanc eruptionemque Tartarorum praecavendam fortasse numero impares non sufficiant, eas suo sumptu aliis copiis, prout tamen necessitates hoc postulaverint, tempestive adaugere velint.

Quo ipso profecto hanc immortalem praeclari nominis gloriam merebuntur, et hoc insigne decus ad posteros transmittent, Germanicum videlicet Imperium, quod ultra octingentos annos stetit et floruit, et potentissimis Barbarorum Regibus semper terrori fuit, iam ab hostibus undique impetitum dissensionibusque dolis et fraudibus in se divisum et oppressum fere, virtute tandem Polonicae Nationis a praesentissimo interitu vendicatum et praeservatum fuisse.

Maestas Sua Caesarea non committet, ut ipsos Regni Status huius quod modo sperat nec aliorum ei saepe fortiter praestitorum officiorum paeniteat.

Et haec fere erant quae etc...

(f. 122v) Propositio 22 Martii 1632
in Comitiis Warsaviensibus

A.

Document 3

Warsaw, 7.4.1632

The reply of the Polish king and Diet to Arnoldini's speech, as written by the royal representative, Ives Lipski. He confirms the existence of friendly ties and official pacts between the empire and the Polish kingdom and acknowledges the need for common action against a common enemy. However, due to the uncertainty of treaties with Prussia, the danger of war with Muscovy, and the constant Turkish conflict, he promises Cossack aid only if the Tatar-Turkish armies march on the empire across Polish territory.

Haus-Hof-Staats Archiv, Polen I, Karton 56, Konv. 1632 s.d.B, fol. 128-130v.

Responsum Sacrae Regiae Maestatis et Amplissimorum Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Ordinum, Magnifico ac Generoso Matthiae a Clerenstain Arnoldino Sacrae Caesareae Maestatis Nuncio et intimo consiliario ex Comitiis Generalibus Varsaviensibus. Datum die VII Mensis Aprilis Anno Domini MDCXXXII.

Quam grata ac iucunda fuerit Sacrae Regiae Maestati Domino Nostro Clementissimo et Amplissimis Regni, et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Ordinibus praesens Serenissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Legatio, sicut Magnificus et Generosus Suae Caesareae Maestatis Nuncius coram ex responso nomine Regiae Maestatis, Ordinumque publice dato perspicere potuit ita eadem Maestas Regia, Ordinesque Regni optassent id luculentiori argumento, et non verbis tantum, sed re etiam ipsa, pronoque ad vota Sacrae Caesareae Maestatis officio testari. Ex ea enim legatione tam Sacrae Regiae Maestati, quam inclitis Reipublicae Ordinibus egregie constitit, quo loco Serenissimus Imperator amicitiam Regiae Maestatis ac Reipublicae ponat, et quantopere hoc rerum suarum statu Cognato Principi et Amico, vicinoque Regno fidat, et praesentem (f. 128v) suam Augustae Domus suae fortunam iniqua belli sorte aliquantum nutantem in sinum eorum deponat, subnixamque opibus ac viribus Reipublicae cupiat, in societatem belli contra communem hostem gerendi eam vocando, et consortem gloriae, victoriaeque suae qua tandem bonam causam triunphaturam omnes boni vovent, sperantque habere cupiendo. Insigne hoc est sinceri affectus argumentum, quod non sola necessitas, vel adversus extorquet casus, cui causa et fortuna tanti, tamque Religiosi Principis

nunquam superis faventibus succumbet, sed eum necessitate coniuncta optimi, propensique animi voluntas; per quam ita opem a Coniunctissimo Rege Regnoque implorat, ut non suam tantum, sed nostram etiam causam agere, et commune periculum communibus viribus depellere, nec sibi tantum, sed nobis etiam vincere velle videatur. Quem Suae Maestatis affectum, et si eo Sacra Regia Maestas Ordinesque Regni prosequuntur studio, nihil magis in votis habeant, quam illi paribus studiis, ac officiis respondere; tamen tanto magis arguntur, erripi sibi in praesentia hanc Maestati Suae gratificandi facultatem, quanto lucul entius perspiciunt (f. 129) nihil vel ad existimationem gloriosus, vel ad securitatem Reipublicae salubrius esse, quam cum tanto Principe in communi causa, ac periculo arma sociare. Eripiunt enim Reipublicae tam illustrium votorum, tamque praeclarae occasionis frictum Pacta Prutenica cum eo hoste ante biennium sancita; erripit imminens belli Moscovitici moles, et male fida cum Turcis, Tartarisque pax, quos boni isti Religionis assertores in exitium Christianorum Regnorum donis, ac Legationibus sollicitant. Equidem quod pacta attinet, eorum fidem, sanctitatemque tanti Respublica facit, ut illam omnibus rei gerendae occasionibus praeferat, et non minus causa, armisque, quam fide, ac Religione faederum hostem superare studiat. Quod si ille non pari cum Republica fide agat, quamdiu tamen aperta vi abstinet, malumus videri iniuriam, quam fidem post habere. Deinde Moscus quanta mole in bellum incumbat, quantos apparatus faciat, quam sinistre Induciis integrum annum detrahat, ex Nuncio suo illuc ablegato, ubi reddierit, Sacra Caesarea Maestas cognoscet, et minime integrum, tutumque Reipublicae sit, hoc rerum statu pluribus bellis implicari; Turcis praesertim, Tartarisque in occasionem rei gerendae intentis, et dudum ab hostibus impia (f. 129v) pactione ad inferendum Reipublicae bellum adstrictis, ubi illam bello Germanico implicatam viderint. Quamobrem Sacra Caesarea Maestas pro sua pietate, ac prudentia, aequi bonique consulet, si Sacra Regia Maestas Dominus Noster Clementissimus, ac Respublica voto, ac desiderio ipsius, imo et suo respondere ea in parte nequeat, nec in praesentia id praestare, quod paucis ante annis lubens praestiterat, submissis suae Maestatis auxiliis, quae temporum, atque Reipublicae rationes patiebantur. Deberi id Maestati Suae, nec Regia Maestas, nec Respublica diffitetur, cum a mutua affinitatis, amicitiae, pactorum, vicinitatis iura; eum ob illustria officia, quae cum alias saepius, tum bello Prutenico auxiliis Suae Maestatis subnixo enituerunt. Verum Maestas Sua non tantum expendet quid facere debeamus, sed quid etiam possimus, et non minus sua aequitate, ac prudentia, quam

nostra facultate, fideique publicae necessitate affectum Sacrae Regiae Maestatis, ac Reipublicae metietur. Porro ceteris in rebus, quibus fides publica nullum ponit obicem, nec praesens Regni status renittitur, prompto studio Sacra Regia Maestas, ac Respublica de Sacra Caesarea Maestate inclitaque Domo ipsius, atque adeo communi causa mereri adnitetur. Ac imprimis omni consilio, et conatu (f. 130) eam in rem incumbet, ne Tartarorum copiis transitus per Ditiones Regni in Moraviam Silesiamque pateat, admoto ad fines eorum valido Cosacorum exercitu, locisque transitu oportunis praesidiario milite, quem ea de causa in praesentibus Comitiis Respublica auxit, firmatis. Sed quod longe lateque ea pateant, et verendum sit, ne per Moldaviam, et Valachiam, ac demum per Transilvaniam ea colluvies in Ditiones Serenissimi Imperatoris sese effundat, mature omnes praecludi passus Caesarea Maestas mandabit. Ceterum Sacra Regia Maestas Dominus Noster Clementissimus, amplissimique Reipublicae Ordines, in quo facultate Serenissimo Imperatori, ac Imperio gratificandi, commodandique in praesentia destituuntur, id votis supplent, Deum Summum optimumque pacis ac belli moderatorem precati, ut arma suae Maestatis, quibus causam, honoremque ipsius tuetur, vitricia reddat, et Imperium Maestatis Suae novis triumphis in Augustissima Domo Austriaca stabilia. Insuper eadem Regia Maestas, et incliti Ordines Magnifico ac Generoso Nuncio (f. 130v) gratiam, ac benevolentiam suam benigne et amice deferunt, et felicem ad Serenissimum Imperatorem redditum ex animo precantur.

Ex commissione
L.S. Suae Maestatis propria.

Ives Lipski
Reff. Regni.

Document 4

Cracow, 14.5.1632

Lubomirski's reply to Arnoldini, telling him that the Cossacks have no military value for Western wars and that they would not be of any service to the emperor.

Haus-Hof-Staats Archiv, Polen I, Karton 55, Konv. Maius (1632), fol. 52-52v.

Illustrissime Domine Amice observande.

Et nos iam, amicorum compellationibus occupatissimi, et Illustritas Vestra itineri (quod Deus prosperum faxit) intenta, non permittit, ut, de quibusdam particularibus de quibus inter nos habitus est sermo,

a nobis informari possit; mittetur res a nobis propere; homo noster, qui Illustritatem Vestram circa meridiem consequetur, et nostras literas ex quibus, quae scire ipsius interest, plenius instruetur, ipsi perferet. Nunc postulatum Illustrissimi vigiliarum praefecti breviter expediemus. Intellexit ex sermone nostro indolem et genium Kosakorum Zaporiensium, quae si memoriae mandavit Illustritas Vestra, certe statuat eos expeditionibus Sacrae Caesareae Maestati prorsus inutiles esse; argumento vel hoc sit, quod sub difficillima belli nostri cum Gustavo tempora, nullum nobis ex iis accessit subsidium quod, maioribus iudicibus, quibus belli causa incubuit, minus habiles ad id genus belli haberentur. Sed quamvis eorum usus aliquis esset, aliquem eorum numerum, puta tria vel quatuor milia, e toto illorum corpore detrahi, non tantum difficile sed impossibile est, et nec Rex si esset superstes, nec solio vacante, ullus tantum sibi authoritatis usurpare potest. Exuri autem universam eorum colluviem, ex tantis distitis locis, nec nos, qui in omnibus nostram devotionem (f. 52v) quam probatissimam Sacrae Caesareae Maestati esse volumus, salva regni nostri indemnitate, permittere possemus. In ipso enim itinere homines feroces et praedis ex bonis Turcicis aucti non possent a maleficiis deterreri, plusque haud dubio cladis patriae quam praesidii imperio, eorum commeatu, adferretur. Sed et Gorskovius qui eorum regimen sibi deposcit, quis est? Miles gregarius, non tantum tantae molis regimini impar, sed vix unius cohortis ductui habilis. Spectato, observo, quos homines ad tanta munera asciscatis, suspectos habere eos qui se ipsi nullis parti militaris decoris testimoniis ingerunt, et qui non honestum, non gloriam, sed praedam querunt. Ad extremum, illud nostrae ingenuitati et generoso candori laedat, praestitisse, veteres istos qui iam stipendia merebant, kosakos retinuisse, quam hos novos, ex ultimis Tartarorum limitibus non tantum quaesivisse, sed cogitasse. Has a nobis Illustritas Vestra pleniores expectat, Quam bene valere et feliciter caeptum iter exequi vovemus. Cracoviae die 14 Maii 1632.

Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae Amicus studiosissimus paratus
Stanislaus Comes in Visniov Lubomirski
Palatinus Russiae, Sendomiriensis, Scepusiensis,
Zaboriensis, Cirkasiensis, Griboniensis, Doboticensis
Supremus Gubernator, etc., m.p.

(F. 53v) Illustrissimo Domino Mathiae Arnoldino a Clarstein,
S.C.M. Consiliario intimo, Domino Amico Observantissimo.

Document 5

Cracow, 15.5.1632

So that Arnoldini will not hire Cossacks for the emperor, Lubomirski totally discredits them as warriors. Moreover, he adds that their leaving would be harmful to Poland because of a Polish agreement with Transylvania and the Turks.

Haus-Hof-Staats Archiv, Polen I, Karton 55, Konv. Maius 1632, fol. 54-56.

Illustrissime Domine, Amice Observantissime.

Perlegimus cum cura literas nobis ab Illustritate Vestra transmissas, easque attentius expendentes, nihil aliud iis urgeri, quam Kosakorum Zaporiensium submittenda subsidia Sacrae Caesareae Maestati in quoscumque belli usus idonea esse possent, sed maxime ad reprimendos, si qui oborirentur, a Transilvano motus, abunde intelleximus. Quis noster sit, de istis expetitis kosakorum copiis sensus, quamvis eum coram Illustritati Vestrae, prolixe aperuerimus, tamen et nunc, breviter eum exponemus. Quare primum ita statuat et pro comperto habeat Illustritas vestra, inanem prorsus et irritam spem eorum omnium esse, qui aliquod auxilium ex hac colluvie expectant. Cum enim omnis eorum fiducia, omnis potentia, sit in unito et sociato caetu, ut distrahantur et dissocientur, nulla arte induci poterunt. Cum enim, ea multitudo sit moribus barbara, in suspicione prona, omnia tuta timens, armis quam consilio validior, si passio eorum evocaretur, ad enervandas et distorpendas eorum vires, atque adeo fraenandam ferociam insidiose excogitatum a Reipublicae proceribus esse, firmiter crederent. Ad haec, cum nullam inter se eminentiam ferant, sed omnes pari et aequabili iure et immunitate fruantur, nullum rectorem, qui nobili et amplo genere sit, et aliqua generis aut splendoris praerogativa supra caeteros referat, (f. 54v) ferre possunt, suum sibi ducem ex suo caetu creant, qui quam primum in fastidium venerit, hoc demoto, alterum communibus suffragiis in eius locum substituunt. Imo, quoties ipsa Respublica, eorum opera et servitia indiget, non externus, sed suus, eadem disciplina et institutis imbutus, a Rege ipsis praeficitur. Si quis (ut saepe accidere solet) proscriptus aut infamia notatus, in earum tribus, nomen det suum, quamvis nobilis sit, non nisi exuto gentili cognomine et assumpto novo, quod ipsi vel casus vel sociorum libido imposuerit, nitor ab eis toleratur. Tanta est apud eos omnis excellentiae fuga et paritatis amor. Totam deinde eorum turbam excire, eique per Reipublicae ditiones commeatum permittere, extremi exitii res esset. Nihil enim illis rapacius, immanius est, nihil officii et boni moris negligentius. Ducem tam diu patiuntur, quoad eius non paenitet;

ubicumque vestigium ponunt, solitudinem et vastitatem post se relinquunt. Tartaris, cum quibus saepe confligunt, nihilo mitiores, forte ferociores sunt, quare etiam gravissimis causis urgentibus, nunquam in Regni viscera admittuntur. Si has ab illis clades patria meruit, quit externae regiones sperare possunt. Verum, ut possint sine Reipublicae detrimento educi, faedera tamen cum Transilvanis et Turcis sancita id prohibent, quae rescindi et violari, publica religio et bonus mos vetat. Tum ne quis vos blanda spe circumveniat, pauci inter eos equites sunt; tota sodalitas pedibus stipendia meret; et illi equites, qui sunt, a vestris equitibus sclopetariis (quos dragonas appellatis) nihil plane differunt. Haec a nobis ipsis (f. 56) candide et ex vero memorata, pro irrefragabili veritate habeat, nec cuiquam, qui alia aserat, fidem commodet. Homines egentes, nullo rei militaris usu, inter quos et iste Gorskovius censeri potest, qui nunquam gregarii militis modum excessit, multa vobis et speciosa promittere audebant, ut tantum, compendii sui occasionem habeant; sed nos, cum Sacra Caesarea Maestate et cum Illustrissimo et Celsissimo Principe Megapolitano agimus ingenue et de iis, quae in damnum eorum vergere possunt, sincere et libere praemonemus. Hisce Illustritatem Vestram bene valere cupimus et officia nostra prompte deferimus. Cracoviae die 15 Maii 1632.

Illustritatis Vestrae Studiosissimus amicus et servitor paratus

Stanislaus Comes in Visniov Lubomirski
Palatinus Russiae, Sendomiriensis, Scepusiensis,
Bialocerkesensis, Zatoriensis, Dobrotiensis,
Supremus Gubernator, etc., m.p.

THREE OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS CONCERNING BOHDAN XMEL'NYC'KYJ

CHANTAL LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY

The three documents that are published here figure in the Archive of the Topkapı Palace Museum (*Topkapı Müzesi Arşivi*) under N° E (= Evrāk) 3005/2, 3005/4, 2237. Although undated, they clearly belong to a crucial period in the history of the Cossack-Polish War—that is, the spring through autumn of 1649. Also, although none is signed nor mentions the name of its sender, their authors can readily be established.

The first letter (E-3005/2) is addressed to the Ottoman sultan; according to its context, the sender can only be the Crimean khan Islām Girāy III. The second (E-3005/4) is obviously addressed to the grand vizir, apparently by the same Islām Girāy. The last letter (E-2237), also addressed to the grand vizir, was sent by the khan or by an important Ottoman commander, perhaps the beylerbey of Kafa, who in the summer and autumn of 1649 was Muṣṭafa Paša.

The letter of the khan to the sultan is the earliest of the three documents. It mainly concerns the Tatar-Zaporozhian expeditions against the Don Cossacks, which (as the last document shows) had already been abandoned by the autumn of 1649. It also mentions the beginning of the joint Tatar-Cossack expedition that began May 31 and led to the victory at Zboriv (5-6 August 1649).

The khan's letter to the grand vizir describing the victory at Zboriv and explaining, briefly and vaguely, the reasons the peace was granted to the king of Poland may be dated to the early autumn of 1649.

The last letter is of special interest because it shows that the Ottomans definitely hoped to use Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, the "Hetman of Özü (Dnieper)," as a counterbalance against the Don Cossacks, whose pirate fleets were particularly active at the time. In the summer of 1649, while Islām Girāy was leading his army against the Poles, a fleet of Don *šayḳa* made a sortie in the Black Sea and devastated the Crimean shore near Balaklava. Returning to the Crimea in

September, Islām Girāy began to prepare an expedition against the Don Cossacks, counting on Xmel'nyc'kyj's support. We know that concurrently Xmel'nyc'kyj was complaining about the activities of the Don Cossacks to the Muscovite envoy Grigorij Neronov, and was even threatening to intervene in these militarily. Yet, Xmel'nyc'kyj refused—however politely and indirectly—to actively support the Khanate against its arch-enemies, the Don Cossacks. One can justifiably conclude that Xmel'nyc'kyj's refusal was one factor dampening the short-lived friendship of the Tatars and Cossacks after their common victory at Zboriv.

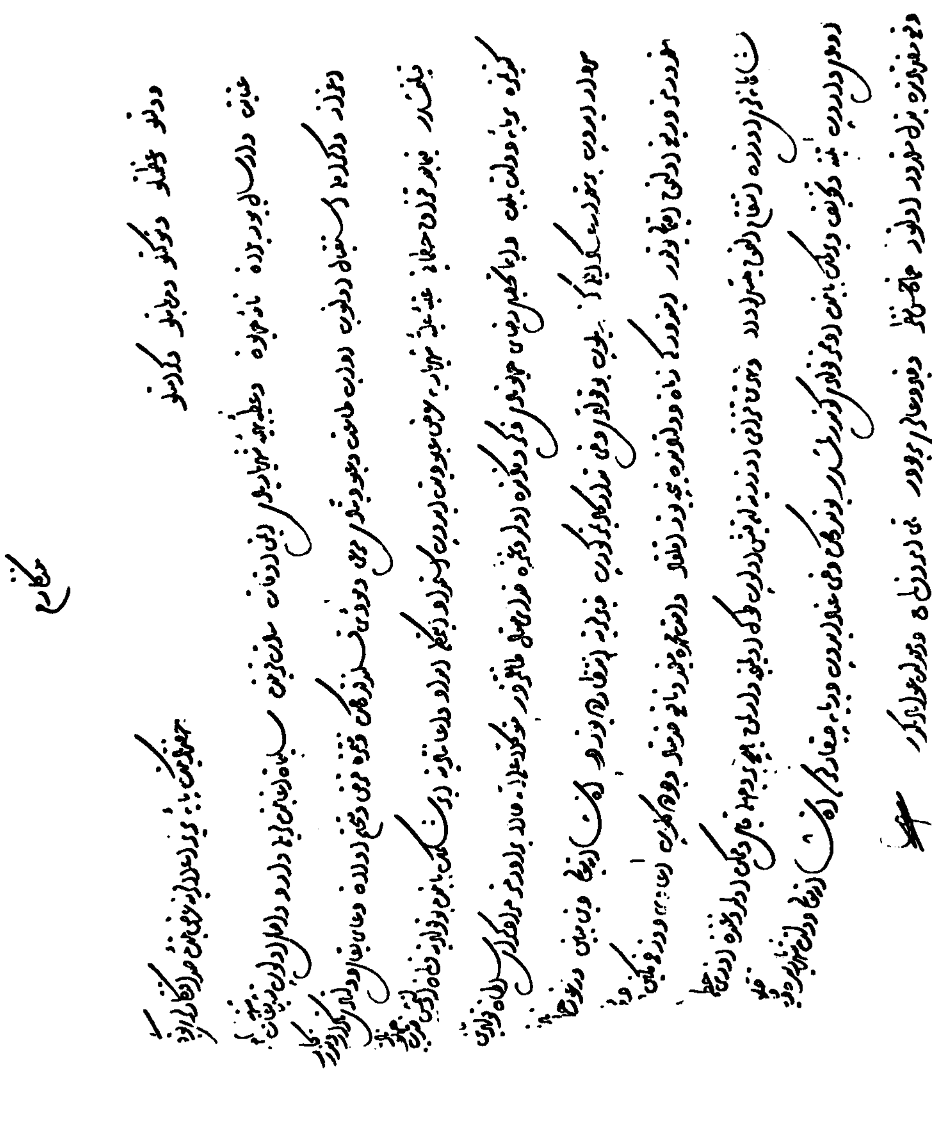
University of Paris

Document 1
(p. 349)

Evrak 3005/2

TRANSCRIPTION

1. Devletlü ve ʿaẓametlü ve ševketlü ve mehābetlü ve kerāmetlü hünkārïm ḥażretlerinin̄ pāye-i serīr-i aʿlālarïna ʿarż-ï bende-i ṣadāḳatkārlarï bu dur ki.
2. ʿInāyet ve irsāl buyurïlan nāme-i hümāyūn ve ʿaṭiyye-i behiyye-i šehri yārïleri eymen-i evḳāt-ï saʿādet-ḳarinde Süleymān Aġa bendeleriyle vārid (ve) vāṣïl olup tešrīfāt-ï šāhinšāhī
3. iʿzāz ve ikrāmla istiḳbāl olunup ādāb-ï ṭāʿat ve ʿubūdiyetleri merʿī ve müʾeddā ḳïlïndïḳdan son̄ra ẕimmetimize farẓ ve müteḥattïm olan duʿā-i beḳā-i devletleri tekrār ve tezkār
4. ḳïlïnmïšdïr. Fīmābaʿd Ḳazāḳ ḥatmānï ʿatebe-i ʿaliye-i šehriyārīye ʿarẓ-ï ʿubūdiyet edüp istimdād etmekle imdād ve iʿānetlerine erišilmek bābïnda bu ḳullarïna fermān olunmuš ẖidemat-ï (?) hümāyūnlarï
5. kendimize sermāye-i devlet bilüp dāʾimā taḥṣīl-i rïżā-i hümāyūnlarï ẕikr ve fikrinde olduġumuza H̱üdā-i müteʿāl ṭānïḳïmïzdïr. Mütevekkilen ʿalaʿllāh ḥālā birāderimiz Murād Girāy Sulṭān ḳullarïn̄
6. serdār edüp bir miḳdār ʿasker ile gönderilüp bu ḳullarï daẖi tedāriklerimiz görüp ẖaberlerine intizārdayuzdur. Inšāllāh-u taʿālā dīn-i mübīn ve uġur-ï hümāyūnlarïnda



7. maḳdūrumuz dirīġ olunmak ihtimāli yoḳdur. Ümīẕdir ki zamān-ï devletlerinde niğe yüz aḳlïḳlar ve ümmet-i Muḥammede müfīd ve nafiʿ ḫidmetler vüğūda gelüp eʿādī-i dūzaḫ mekinden murād-ï (?)
8. šāhāneleri üzere intiḳām alïnmaḳ müyesser ola. Ve nehr-i Ten ḳazāḳï üzerine ise ḳïš olup ṭoñ olmayïñğa varïlmaḳ hič bir veğhle ḳābil ve mümkün olmadïġïndan Özü ḥaṭmānïnïñ (?)
9. ademleri varup tenbīh ve taḫvīf verilmek bābïnda ādemimiz ḳullarï gönderilmišdir. Bundan soñra daḫi ʿinād edüp deryāya čïḳarlarsa inšāllāh-u taʿālā devlet-i šehriyārīde (?)
10. defʿ-i mażarratlarïnda beẕl-i maḳdūr olunur. Hemān ḥüsn-ü naẓar ve ḫayïr duʿālarï merğūdur. Baḳī emr-ü fermān der-i maʿdelet ʿunvānlarïnïñdïr.

TRANSLATION

Undated; probably written in the spring-summer of 1649. From Khan Islām Girāy to Sultan Meḥmed IV.

My Lord, [this] is the report of Your most faithful servant, laid at the foot of the Sublime Throne of the Blissful, Almighty, Revered, Dreadful and Generous Pādišāh.

Your imperial message and magnificent present were brought by the servants of Süleymān Aġa at the most auspicious moment of all times and we greeted them with the appropriate ceremony, reverence, and respect.

Having complied with the prescribed ceremonies of obedience and submission we offered prayers for Your happiness.

This letter advised us that the Cossack Hetman offered his submission at the Supreme Threshold of Your Majesty, that he presented a petition for assistance and that in consequence of this Your Majesty orders Your servant to rush to his help.

Your Majesty's service is the stuff of our happiness and the Highest God is our Witness that our thoughts are perpetually occupied by our concern to satisfy Your Majesty.

Trusting in God, we appointed as commander-in-chief (*serdār*) our brother Murād Girāy Sultan and we sent him in advance with a certain number of warriors. I, myself, Your servant, am preparing [to take to the field] and I am awaiting news from him. If such is the Will of God the Highest, we will spare no efforts to serve our religion and Your Majesty. May acts of eminence, honor and use to the people of Muḥammad be achieved during Your reign.

For our part, in conformity with the wishes of Your Majesty, we hope to take revenge on our enemies, may God dispatch them to hell.

As it is not possible to march against the Don Cossacks before winter and frost [set in], we sent messages to the Hetman of Özü (Dnieper) asking him to send men to the Don Cossacks to frighten them and prevent them from committing subversive acts.

If after those measures they persist in undertaking a naval campaign, we will, with God's help, accomplish whatever is necessary to prevent them from doing so.

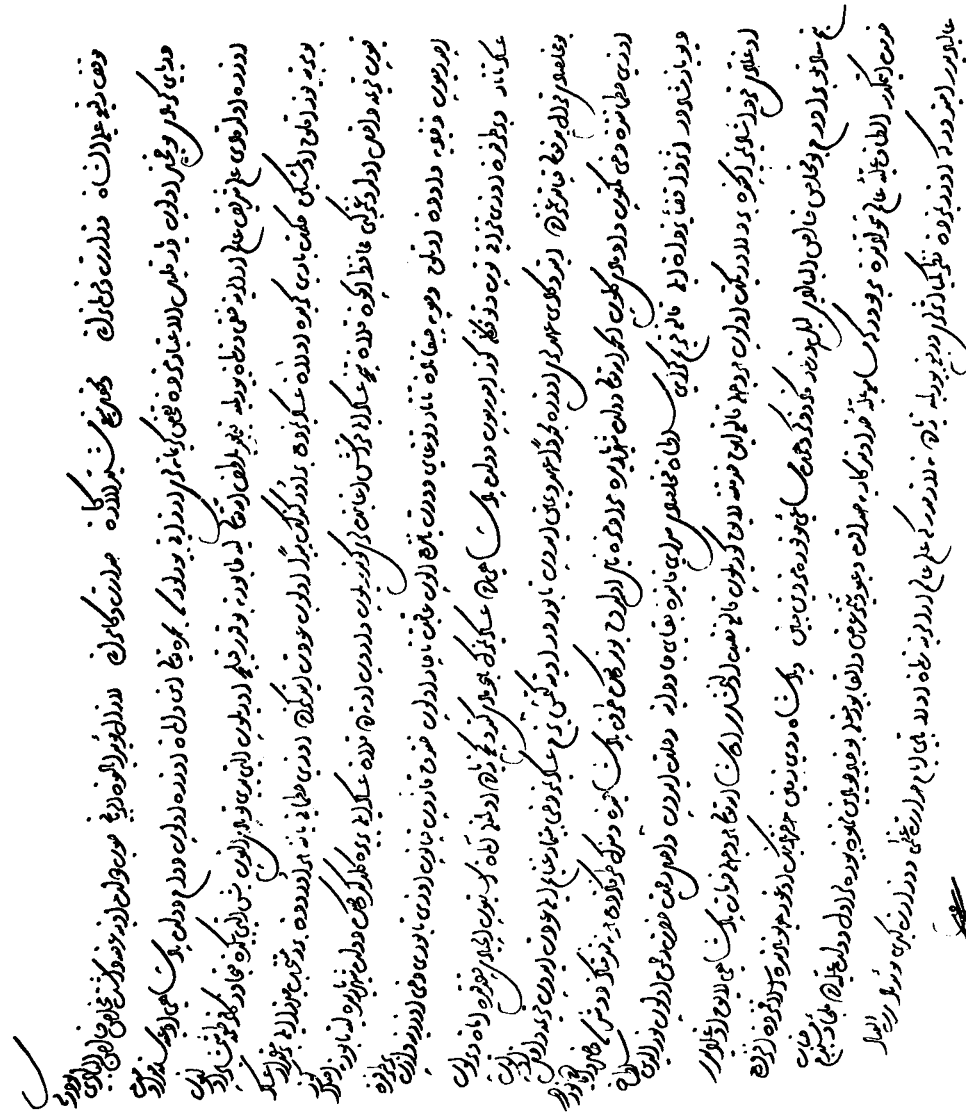
All that we now await is Your blessing. The command belongs to the Porte Whose name is Justice.

Document 2
(p. 352)

Evrāk 3005/4

TRANSCRIPTION

1. Mevḳīf-i refī'-i 'ālī-ül šān vezāret ve fermānrāni ve maḥfil-i menī'-i müšeyyid-ül erkān ṣadāret ve kāmrānī lāzāle mü'ebbeden bi 'avn-ir rabbānī ṣavb-ï devlet erebine 'arżadašt-ï muḫliṣ-i ḫāliṣ-ül bālleri bu dur ki,
2. deryā-i keremleri mevğeviz olup diyār-ï ḳalīl-ül i'tibārïmïzdan tafaḥḥuṣ-u kerīmāneleri erzānī buyurulursa biḥamdi 'llah-i ta'ālā emn-ü āmān üzere olup devām-ï devlet-i pādišāhī ad'iyyesine müdāvemet
3. üzere olduḳlarï 'ilm-i šerīf-ï ālem–ārālarïna ḫafī ve nihān buyurulmaya. Fīmāba'd biluṭf-i 'allāh-i ta'ālā Lēh taburuna bu ḳadar ḳïlïč urulup, altï yedi toplarï alïnup beš altï binden müteğāviz kāfir ṭa'me-i šimšīr olunup,
4. bu mertebe yüz aḳlïḳ olmuš iken ḥikmet-i bārī geride olan 'askerimizden bir ürküntülük peydā olup 'avdet etdigimizde Özü ḫatmānï yanïna her ordudan birer münteḫab mīrzā ile bir miḳdār 'asker
5. ḳoyup Ḳïrïm'a dāḫil olduġumuz gibi muḥāfaẓa ičün ḳalan tinč 'asker ile Ferrāš Aġa bendeleri gönderilüp varup ötede ḳalan 'asker ile bir yere geldikden soñra devlet-i šehrīyārïde Lēh taburuna aṣlā göz
6. ačdïrmayup zaḫīreye ve odun otlaḳ ve suya čïḳanlarïn Tatar ve Noġay dört yanïndan alup 'āḳibet nāčār olup ḫendek ḳazup ḳapanup Özü taburu daḫi üzerine varup bir ṭarafdan
7. 'asker-i Tatar ve bir ṭarafdan Özü ḳazāğï top ve tüfenkle göz ačdïrmayup devlet-i pādišāhīde 'askerimiziñ hüğūmlarï gitdukče ziyāde olmaġla, āmān isteyüp elčileri čïḳduḳda āmān verilüp,
8. bu muḫliṣleri ḳïral-ï bedḳavlī ḳapatdïġïmïzda etdükleri 'ahidleri



üzere müğeddeden ʿahd-u yemīn edüp taburdur öteye gitmiš. Bizim ʿaskerimiz daẖi bīšümār ġanā'im ile ʿavdet edüp, Ḳïrïm'a dāẖil olup,

9. Özü ḫatmānundan daẖi mektūb ve ādemleri gelüp, el-ḥamdü li 'llāhi taʿālā devlet-i šehriyārīde murādïmïza nā'il olduḳ. Bundan soñra ṭaraf-ï pādišāhīden ve siziñ ṭarafïñïzdan her ne ẖidmetiñiz düšerse ḥażïr ve āmādeyüzdür"
10. deyü yazmïšlardïr. Eṣerzā-i ḳażā-i yezdān ile ḳalġa Ḳïrïm Girāy Sulṭān muẖlišleri serāy-i fānīden beḳā-i ğāvidānīye riḥlet edüp, vāṣïl-ï raḥmet-i ḥażret-i raḥmān olup, Nūreddīn Sulṭān
11. oġullarï ḳardašlarïmïz ičinde bir dilāver yigit olup her veğhle ḳalġalïḳ ẖidmetine lāyiḳ görülüp ḳalġa naṣb olunmušdur. Inšāllāh-u taʿālā her veğhle ẖidemāt-ï pādišāhī(ye) lāyïḳ oġullarïdïr.
12. Benim saʿādetlü birāderim bu muẖliṣ-i ẖāliṣ-ül bālleri leyl-ü nihār fikr-ü ẕikr ve hemde mesāʿī-i mevfūremiz dīn-i mübīn ve pādišāh-ï rūy-i zemīn ḥażretleriniñ uġur-u hümāyūnlarïnda eslāfïmïzdan efzūn
13. ẖidmet etmekdir. Elṭāf-ïʿāliyye-i ʿālemšümullarïndan merğūdur ki, mesamiʿ-i ʿāliyye-i ẖüdāvendigārīye ṣadāḳat ve ʿubūdiyetimiz ʿarż ve ilḳā buyurmaġla bu ẖaberğūylarïn memnūn buyuralar. Ol devlet-i ʿāliyyede melğe-ü mesnedim ğenāb-ï
14. ʿālideridir. Ümīẕdir ki üzerimizden naẓar-ï kimyāeṣerleri dirīġ buyurulmaya. Ziyāde ne lāzïmdïr ki ʿilm-i ālemārālarïna nihān ola. Bāḳī eyyām-ï ṣadāret-i ʿuẓmā ve vezāret-i kübrā mü'ebbed bād rabbülʿibād.

TRANSLATION

Undated; probably written in the summer of 1649. From Khan Islām Girāy to the grand vizir.

Herewith is that which Your loyal-hearted friend deposits at the feet of Your Very High Vizirate, Whose Glory is Sublime, Holder of Power, Inaccessible, Blissful; resting on unshakeable columns, may It last eternally.

If the sea of Your generosity will allow us to give Your Majesty news of our insignificant country [I will tell you that] thanks to the Almighty Lord, this is not bad. The country enjoys safety and security and its inhabitants are busy praying ceaselessly that the fortune of the Pādišāh may last eternally. May this not be hidden from Your knowledge, Adornment of the Universe.

This being so, with the help of the Almighty God, we attacked with sidearms the entrenched camp (*tabur*) and we fought so well that we took from them six to seven cannons and cut down with sabres five or six thousand infidels.

Such was our success; but by Divine decree, the rear guard troops experienced a moment of despair. We therefore left with the Hetman of Özü (Dnieper) a certain number of soldiers and returned to the Crimea [with most of the army]. Your servant Ferrāš Aġa was placed at the head of the fresh troops which were left in the Crimea.

Thanks to Your Majesty, our [reinforced] troops left no opportunity to the Polish camp to cause damage. Encircled on four sides by Tatars and Noghays, the Poles could not make a sally [from their camp] to restock in food supplies, in fodder, and in water. At last, reduced to helplessness, they started to dig trenches and enclosed themselves in their camp.

Then the troops of the Hetman of the Dnieper marched against them [the Poles]. Attacked by cannons and muskets (*tüfenk*), pressed on one side by the Tatars and on the other by the Dnieper Cossacks, they had not time to breathe and when the attacks of our troops reached the highest degree of intensity, they asked for mercy (*āmān*).

When their envoys came out of their camp, mercy was given them. Their faithless king [who had been entrenched in the camp] renewed his oath and gave his promise to keep the engagement formerly undertaken by him.

[After this] their army withdrew still further, whereas our troops returned to the Crimea with countless spoils. Now they have arrived on Crimean territory.

The Hetman of the Dnieper sent us carriers of a message in which it was said: "Thanks be given to God and also to Your Majesty; we attained our goal and from now on we are ready to render any service that will be required of us either by the Pādišāh or by you [the khan]."

By the decree of the Eternal God Who ordains all destinies, the *ḳalġa* Ḳïrïm Girāy Sulṭān, Your loyal servant, left the palace of this ephemeral world for the eternal one and enjoys now the mercy of Merciful God. The *Nūreddīn* Sulṭān, who is one of my brothers, a young and brave warrior, had been found worthy from every point of view to be entrusted with these functions and had been appointed as *ḳalġa*.

If such be the pleasure of God the Highest, he will be Your son, deserving to serve His Majesty.

Oh, My Blissful Brother, night and day the thoughts and the words of Your loyal-hearted friend and all his efforts are constantly at the service of His Majesty, the Pādišāh of the Universe. Here now is what we hope from Your high bounty, so abundant that it embraces the world: crown the bliss of Your servant by bringing to the august hearing of the Pādišāh a testimony of our submission and faithfulness.

Your Lordship is my refuge and my support in the residence of the Pādišāh and my wish is that Your benevolent gaze [endowed] with alchemical virtues should not avoid me.

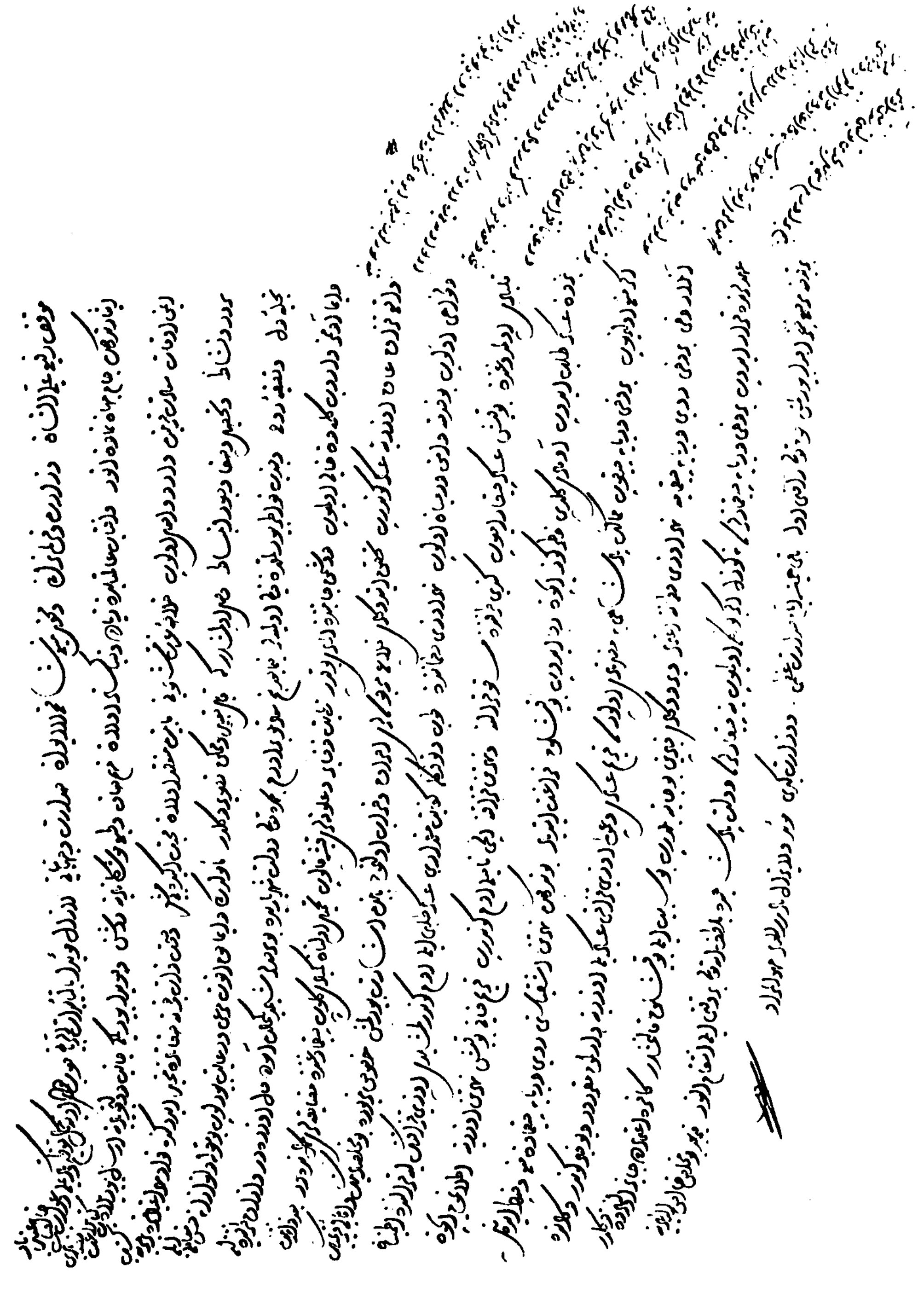
What more can be said that would not be known to Your Wisdom, Ornament of the Universe? Except to wish in the name of the Lord of all Creatures that the days of Your Vizirate should last eternally.

Document 3
(p. 356)

Evrāk 2237

TRANSCRIPTION

1. Mevḳīf-i refīʿi ʿālī-ül šān vezāret ve fermānrānī ve maḥfil-i menīʿ-i šāmiḥ-ül eyvān ṣadāret ve ğihānbānī lāzāle mü'ebbeden bi-t-te'yīdāt-ür rabbānī ṣavb-ï devlet erebine kemāl-i taʿzīm ve tekrīmle daʿvāt-ï ẖāliṣāt-ï ʿamberbār
2. iṣārïndan soñra ğām-i ğihānnümādan enver ve āftāb-i ālemtābdan ziyāde żiyāgüster olan fehm-i ṣāf ve ṭabʿ-ï mušikāflarïna rūšen ve hüveydā buyurula ki ğānib-i devletğūylarïna irsāl buyurulan kitāb-ülʿan niṣāblarï (?)
3. eymen-i evḳāt-ï saʿādet ḳarīnde vārid (ve) vāṣïl olup ẖulāsa-yï ʿizzet mešhūnu mābeyinde münʿaḳid olan muḥabbet-i ekīdeyi mü'šir ve ṣiḥḥat-ï ẕāt-ï ẖuğeste-ṣifātlarïn muẖbir idügünden fu'ād-ï mihr iʿtiyādïmïza bir mertebe kesb-i
4. sürūr-u nešāṭ ve taḥsīl-i ṣafā ve hubūr-u inbisāṭ ḥāṣïl olmušdur ki ḳābil-i taʿbīr ve mümkün-ü taṣvīr degildir. Me'mūldur ki dā'imā ḥaḳḳ-i uẖuvvet merʿī ve riʿāyet buyurulup bu maḳūle dilnüvāzāne ḥüsn-ü muʿāmele ile
5. teğliye-i dil ve taṣfiye-i rūḥ ve ğeẕb-i ẖavāṭïr buyurulmaḳdan ẖālī olmayalar. Fīmābaʿd benim saʿādetlü birāderim, biḥamdi 'llah-i taʿālā devlet-i šehrīyārīde bu serḥadler šimdiki ḥālde āsūdeḥāl üzeredir. Ve Azāḳ ṭarafïndan ise
6. dā'imā ādemimiz varup gelmeden ẖālī olmayup düšmān ğānibinden elemleri yoḳdur. Nihāyet zaẖā'ir ve ulūfeleri ḳïša ḳalup taḥmīl olunan gemīleri gelüp čïḳmadïğïndan mużāyaḳalarï kemālindedir. Baʿdeẕā nehr-i Ten'de
7. vāḳiʿ ḳazāḳ-ï ʿāḳ üzerine ʿasker gönderüp taḥaṣṣun etdikleri ḳïlā-i merğūseleri(?) iḥrāḳ ve ẖarāb olunmaḳ bābïnda išāret buyurulmuš. Ḫuṣūṣ-u mezbūre bu muẖliṣleriniñ ve aḥālī-i Ḳïrïm'ïñ
8. dilẖāhi olup bu ẖidmete dāmen der-miyān olup nehr-i Özü ḥaṭmānïndan ṭop ve tüfenkle kifāyet miḳdārï ʿasker ṭalebi ile ādem gönderilmiš idi. Özü ḳazāğïnïñ Lēh ḳïralïndan iṭminān-ï
9. ḳalblarï olmadïğïndan bu ḳïš ʿasker čïḳaramayup kendi ṭarafïndan Mosḳov ḳïralïna ve nehr-i Ten ḳazāğïna elči nāmi ile ādem gönderüp, "Ḳïrïm ẖānï bu ḳïš nehr-i Ten üzerine atlanmaḳ ičün
10. bizden ʿasker ṭaleb edüp ādemleri geldi. Ḫāṭïrïñïz ičün riğā edüp bu



ḳïšlïḳ ferāġat etdiler. Bundan soñra nehr-i Ten ešḳiyāsïnï rūy-i deryāya čïḳmadan men' ve żabṭ edesin.

11. Eger men olunmayup bir daḫi deryāya čïḳup memālik-i pādišāhīye mażarratlarï olursa Ḳïrïm 'askeri ve 'umūmen Özü ḳazāġï 'askeriyle üzerine varïlmaḳ muḳarrerdir" deyü ḫaber gönderdiklerinden
12. anlar daḫi bir daḫi rūy-i deryāya čïḳmamaya nehr-i Özü ḫaṭmānïna i'timād verdükleri ḫaberin bu ğānibe bildürüp bu sebeb ile bu ḳïšlïḳ ḳalïnmïšdir. Kāfire i'timād da ğā'iz olanlardan degildir.
13. 'Ahidlerinde ḳarār edüp bir daḫi deryāya čïḳmazlar ise ne güzel. Eger bununla olmayup yine čïḳarlarsa devlet-i pādišāhīde bi luṭfi'llāh-i ta'ālā bir vaḳti ile intiḳām alïnïr. Fīmāba'd bu muḫliṣ-i ḫāliṣ-ül bāllerine
14. bir ḳabża-ï muraṣṣa' ḫanğer ihdā buyurulmuš. Ḥaḳ ta'ālā rāżi ola. Baḳī hemīše eyyām-i sadāret-i 'uẓmā ve vezāret-i kübrā mü'ebbedü lāyezāl bād birabbi'l-'ibādfe hüve 'l-murād.

(Marginal note)

1. Benim biraderim, Ismā'īl gečidi tevliyeti ḫidmeti ādemimiz
2. Meḥmed bendeleri ičün arẓ, ve Süleymān Aġa'dan riğa' olunduḳda, ḫatïr-ï muḫliṣi münāsib(?)
3. görülüp, tevğīh ve'arẓini daḫi vermišler idi. Ḥālā aġa ḥażretleri āhara verüp,
4. bu ḳadarġa šey ičün riğamïz gečmedi. Bir māna ki aḳča ile ola ve vaḳfa żararï olmaya.
5. Ve re'āya fiḳarāsï daḫi Meḥmed bendelerin isteyüp, anlarïñ verdükleri ādemden šikāyet (?)
6. niğe def'a 'arẓ ve mahżar gönderdiler, ve der-i devlete daḫi šikāyete varmïšlar. Bundan soñra daḫi
7. ol ādeme ḥimāyet lāyiḳ degildi. Kemāl-i keremlerinden merğūdur ki, aġa ḥażretlerine ṭaraf-ï šerīflerinden
8. tenbīh buyurulup, żabṭï ičün temessükāt ve emr-i šerīf iḥṣān buyurulmaḳ riğā' oluna.

TRANSLATION

Undated; probably written in the autumn of 1649.
From an anonymous author (Islām Girāy?) to the grand vizir.

My Blissful Brother! Thanks be to God the Highest, the borderline regions where we are enjoy at the present moment a state of calm under the beneficent reign of our Pādišāh. As to the territories of Azāḳ (Azov), our men go there and

come back constantly and are not harmed in any way by the enemy. But as the dispatch of victuals and pay (*ulūfe*) of our men has been delayed in winter and the laden ships have not yet arrived, our men are in the greatest hardship.

Your Majesty has suggested to us that we undertake an expedition against the insolent Cossacks established on the river Ten (Don) with the object of burning down and destroying the wretched fortresses in which they are entrenched. This object corresponds also to the ardent desire of Your devoted servant and of the people of the Crimea. Being prepared to accomplish this mission, I have sent messengers asking for the cannons, muskets, and troops to be sent to me in sufficient quantities from the regions of the Dnieper and Taman. But the Cossacks of the Dnieper, not feeling safe in connection with the King of Poland, declared to us that they will not be able to detach troops this winter to put them at our disposal. They sent messengers to the King (*Kral*) of Moscow and to the Cossacks of the Don and bade them say the following:

"The Khan of the Crimea asked us through his messengers for troops to launch a cavalry expedition on the Don. To please you we asked him to forego this project and he gave it up for this winter. Henceforth, prevent the pirates of the Don from indulging in acts of piracy on the Black Sea. If you do not prevent them, if they come down to the Black Sea and ransack the territories of the Pādišāh, it is certain that the troops of the Crimea and all the military forces of the Cossacks of the Dnieper will march against you."

Thereupon they [the Don Cossacks] assured the Hetman of the Dnieper that they will undertake no more expeditions in the Black Sea. The Cossacks of the Dnieper having informed us of this fact, we renounced [making] an expedition this winter. However, one must not trust the promises of miscreants. If they keep their promise and abstain from making raids in the Black Sea, all the better; if, on the contrary, they renew their misdeeds, we will [for the sake] of the beneficent reign of our Pādišāh and with the help of the Highest God, inflict upon them the deserved punishment at the auspicious moment.

Furthermore, it was Your goodwill to offer to Your devoted loyal-hearted servant a dagger with hilt encrusted with precious stones. May the Almighty God be satisfied.

There remains for me but to wish that Your days in the Office of Grand Vizir should be by the Will of God perpetuated without decline. This is my fondest wish.

REVIEW ARTICLE

MYTHS OLD AND NEW: THE HAIDAMAK MOVEMENT AND THE KOLIIVSHCHYNA (1768) IN RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

ZENON E. KOHUT

HAIDAMATS'KYI RUKH NA UKRAINI 20-60 RR. XVIII ST. By *Oleksandr Petrovych Lola.* Akademiia nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, Instytut istorii. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1965. 131 pp.

KOLIIVSHCHYNA 1768: MATERIALY IUVELEINOI NAUKOVOI SESII PRYSVIACHENOI 200-RICHCHIU POVSTANNIA. Edited by *Petro Tron'ko, Ivan Hurzhii,* and *Vadym Diadychenko.* Akademiia nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, Instytut istorii. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1970. 186 pp.

HAIDAMATS'KYI RUKH NA UKRAINI V XVIII ST.: ZBIRNYK DOKUMENTIV. Edited by *Ivan Butych* and *Fedir Shevchenko.* Arkhivne upravlinnia pry Radi ministriv Ukrains'koi RSR, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR u Kyievi, Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv URSR u L'vovi. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1970. 659 pp.

KOLISZCZYZNA. By *Władysław Serczyk.* Vol. 193: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne, no. 24. Cracow: 1968. 173 pp.

HAJDAMACY. By *Władysław Serczyk.* Cracow: "Wydawnictwo Literackie," 1972. 461 pp.

KOLIIVSHCHYNA: HAIDAMATS'KE POVSTANNIA 1768 R. By *Petro Mirchuk.* Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, Biblioteka ukrainoznavstva, pt. 41. London and New York, 1973. 318 pp.

Few events in Ukrainian history have been subject to such controversy as the haidamak movement and the 1768 *Koliivshchyna* (*Kolii*) uprising. Described briefly, the haidamak movement consisted of virtually continuous spontaneous revolts by the Ukrainian Orthodox peasants and Cossacks against the Polish Catholic landlords and their Jewish clients, as well as against the Roman Catholic and Uniate clergy. The movement was concentrated on the Right-Bank Ukraine, then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and spanned most of the eighteenth century. On three occasions—in 1734, 1750, and 1768—a major uprising occurred which proved to be too taxing for the moribund Polish-Lithuanian state. In response to Polish requests for assistance, all three were finally suppressed by the Russian military. The last uprising, in 1768, became known as the *Koliivshchyna*, a name probably derived from the pikes or lances (*kil*) with which the rebels, or *Kolii*, were armed.[1] Particularly bloody, the Koliivshchyna had such a traumatic effect on both Ukrainian and Polish society that it subsequently became the symbol of Ukrainian-Polish enmity.

The first works dealing with the Koliivshchyna were memoirs written by opponents of the uprising which depicted the rebels as bandits, disobedient serfs, and Orthodox fanatics who were incited by agents of the Russian tsar. Strident in tone and historically unreliable, the memoir literature was of prime importance in creating the Polish haidamak myth.[2]

Interest in the haidamak movement was further kindled by the Polish Romanticists, for whom its mass violence, uncivilized frontier, and heroic figures provided rich literary material. Seweryn Goszczyński (1801-1876) utilized the 1768 revolt primarily as background for an exotic love story (*Zamek kaniowski*, 1828). The Cossacophile Michał Czajkowski (1804-1886) attempted to explain the 1768 uprising as primarily a Russian intrigue, for he depicted Catherine II's agents and fanatic Orthodox clergymen inciting the populace with false promises and the liberal dispensation of vodka (*Wernyhora*, 1848). In his works Czajkowski harkened back to the old Ukraine, that is, to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when Poles and Ukrainians allegedly lived in harmony. For

[1] V. Shcherbyna and W. Serczyk offer a different explanation of the term. See Serczyk, *Koliszczyzna*, p. 7.

[2] For a brief analysis of the memoir literature, see H. I. Khraban, "Memuary iak istoriohrafichne dzherelo vyvchennia narodno-vyzvol'noho povstannia 1768 r.," *Koliivshchyna 1768*, pp. 134-46.

him, as well as for Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849), especially in his "Sen srebrny Salomei" (1843), the haidamak movement was a great tragedy, because it destroyed the last remnants of the harmonious, pre-Khmel'nyts'kyi Ukraine.[3]

Thus, before any attempts at scholarly analysis were made, the haidamak movement and the Koliivshchyna had already become the subject of a well-developed myth whose main tenets were the following: (1) the haidamaks were primarily bandits, disobedient peasants, and Cossacks; (2) Russian intrigue and demagogy combined with Orthodox religious fanaticism were responsible for the major uprisings. Class antagonism, occasionally touched upon in memoirs and romantic literature, was not treated as a major factor.

The Polish haidamak myth, formed in memoir and Romantic literature, was incorporated into Polish historiography. In his history of Poland, Teodor Morawski (1797-1879) propounded the view that "Moscow unleashed the haidamaks."[4] Tadeusz Korzon (1839-1918), who discussed the Koliivshchyna in several works, blamed its occurrence on the fanaticism of the monk Mel'khisedek Znachko-Iavors'kyi, who incited the uneducated masses.[5] Similarly, Józef Rolle (Dr. Antoni J., 1830-1894) listed the causes of the Koliivshchyna as being the unenlightened fanaticism of the Orthodox clergy in Russian Ukraine, local religious fanaticism, and the excessive "freedom" in the borderlands.[6]

Increased Ukrainian-Polish friction contributed to the uncritical incorporation of the Polish haidamak myth into Polish historical scholarship. In such an atmosphere Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński (1846-1930) produced both the most thorough and most chauvinistic Polish study of the haidamak movement. Rawita-Gawroński reduced the whole haidamak movement to a single cause—the degenerate character of the Ukrainian people. According to him the Ukrainians were the product of racial intermingling between Mongol tribes and Slavs and as such had acquired the worst characteristics of the

[3] S. Goszczyński, *Zamek kaniowski* (Warsaw, 1905); *Wernyhora, wieszcz ukraiński: Pisma Michała Czajkowskiego*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1868); J. Słowacki, *Beniowski: Dzieła*, vol. 3 (Wrocław, 1949).

[4] T. Morawski, *Dzieje narodu polskiego*, vol. 5 (Poznań, 1877).

[5] T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta, 1764-1794*, vol. 1 (Cracow and Warsaw, 1897), p. 200.

[6] Dr. Antoni J. [Rolle], *Wybór pism*, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1966), p. 37.

nomads: love of violence and a proclivity for crime, bloodletting, and anarchy.[7]

In certain respects the Polish "scholarly" study of the haidamak movement was a step backward from the Romanticist view. The Romantic writers did not hesitate to portray the haidamaks as cutthroats, but they did, on occasion, create tragic or even heroic haidamak characters. Moreover, the Ukrainian peasants and Cossacks were presented as simple folk who were duped into staging the uprisings by Russian agents or Orthodox clerics. Such a view, although simplistic and unscholarly, was at least not inherently racist. Until recently, however, Rawita-Gawroński's more racist book remained the standard Polish work on the haidamak movement.

Initially, Russian and Ukrainian historians of Imperial Russia, like their counterparts in Poland, were critical and negative in their assessment of the haidamak movement. Their views were colored by the available Polish literature and the official imperial position. Despite the haidamaks' defense of Orthodoxy, Catherine II issued an ukase labeling them robbers and murderers. Such an interpretation was accepted by the well-known historian of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Apollon Skal'kovs'kyi (1808-1899), who minimized the role of the Zaporozhian Cossacks so that the acts of "a few animals" would not tarnish their good name.[8] Twenty-five years later (1870) Danylo Mordovets' (1830-1905) described the haidamak movement as "mass crime." Although Mordovets' acknowledged the difficult socioeconomic conditions, religious fanaticism, and national hatreds of the period as possible causes of some of the haidamaks' bloody deeds, he nevertheless believed the movement to be a blemish on Ukrainian history.[9]

The Polish haidamak myth and the official imperial interpretation were challenged by a third tradition, found in Ukrainian oral literature. Mykhailo Maksymovych (1804-1873), the prominent collector of oral literature, discovered that historical songs and oral accounts depicted the haidamaks in a favorable light. In 1839 Maksymovych attempted to present this point of view, but his article was suppressed

[7] F. Rawita-Gawroński, *Historya ruchów hajdamackich (w. XVIII)*, vol. 1 (Brody, 1913), p. vi.

[8] A. Skal'kovskii, *Naezdy gaidamak na Zapadnuiu Ukrainu v XVIII st., 1733-1768* (Odessa, 1845).

[9] D. L. Mordovtsev, *Gaidamatchina ili Koliivshchina: Razboinichi obshchiny, 1730-1768* (St. Petersburg, 1884), pp. i-viii, 1-12.

by Russian censorship, remaining unpublished until 1875.[10] Nevertheless, Maksymovych did publish a polemical article in Moscow in which he accused Skal'kovs'kyi of belaboring the dark, violent aspects of the haidamak movement without considering its socioeconomic base.[11] Maksymovych associated the haidamak movement with previous seventeenth-century uprisings, specifically the Khemel'nyts'kyi Revolution. In response to Skal'kovs'kyi's attempt to clear the Zaporozhians' bad name for having participated in the movement, Maksymovych contended that the Zaporozhians required the services not of a lawyer, but of an objective scholar.

In the 1840s the "Ukrainian" myth was articulated not by scholars, but by the Ukraine's greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). In his *Haidamaky* Shevchenko presented the rebels as struggling against national and social oppression. Although Shevchenko was probably aware of the memoir literature and was familiar with the Polish haidamak myth, his primary sources were folk traditions and eyewitness accounts, probably because his grandfather was a haidamak and as a boy Shevchenko had heard various stories about the 1768 uprisings.[12] The poet totally rejected the idea that the haidamaks were robbers and bandits. In another of his poems, written immediately after the publication of Skal'kovs'kyi's work, Shevchenko retorts:

> And, what is more, the idle loafer
> Scorns and sneers at Honta!
> "The Haidamaky were no warriors,
> Thieves they were, and robbers,
> A blot upon our history."
> Thou liest, people starver
> For freedom and the holy truth
> A robber does not rise up.
> Nor does he set free a people
> Who, dark, unlightened
> Are bound into your chains.[13]

[10] M.A. Maksimovich, "Skazanie o Koliivshchine," *Russkii arkhiv*, 1875, no. 5, pp. 5-27.
[11] "Izvestiia o gaidamakakh," *Moskvitianin*, 1845, no. 5, pt. 3, pp. 46-68.
[12] For a good account of Shevchenko's views on the haidamaks see M. I. Marchenko, *Istorychne mynule ukrains'koho narodu v tvorchosti T. H. Shevchenka* (Kiev, 1957), pp. 80-118.
[13] *Song out of Darkness: Shevchenko's Poems*, trans. by Vera Rich (London, 1961), p. 81.

Although Shevchenko's views were rejected by Panteleimon Kulish (1819-1897), his compatriot in the Cyril and Methodius Society, they were later accepted by other Ukrainian historians. In a careful study of the then available archival material, Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1909) concluded that the haidamak movement underwent three evolutionary phases: from 1710-1730 it was hardly distinguishable from banditry; from the 1730s to the 1760s it progressively acquired the characteristics of a peasant uprising; and by the 1760s it had assumed the aspect of a national uprising.[14] In a monograph about a major figure in the 1768 uprising, Ivan Honta, Antonovych expressed an even more pronounced pro-haidamak attitude: he found Honta to be an honest and brave individual who acted out of a sense of duty towards his faith and people and consciously sacrificed his career and social position for a lofty cause.[15]

The positions of the Ukrainian historians were buttressed by their discovery of additional documentary evidence. Iakiv Shul'hyn (1851-1909) discovered the Polish trial records of the participants in the Koliivshchyna. Armed with this new evidence Shul'hyn openly challenged the Polish historian Tadeusz Korzon and in bitter polemics refuted the robber theory, at least in its application to the Koliivshchyna.[16] Shul'hyn pointed to three factors which differentiated the Koliivshchyna from criminal acts or a mindless jacquerie: (1) the uprising was not self-serving, but emanated from a deep sense of injustice (Shul'hyn was particularly impressed with the rebels' insistence on the righteousness of their cause and refusal to recant, even under torture); (2) the rebels had a specific plan of action, i.e., first to liberate the Kiev province and then other provinces; (3) the rebels had specific visions for the future: the liquidation of serfdom, private land ownership, Orthodoxy, the Cossack system of government—in sum, the ideal of freedom summarized in the phrase "without Pole or landlord."

[14] V. Antonovich, *Issledovanie o gaidamachestve po aktam 1700-1768 gg.* (Kiev, 1876), pp. 1-5.

[15] V. Antonovych, *Umans'kyi sotnyk Ivan Gonta* (Vol. 19: *Rus'ka istorychna biblioteka*) (L'viv, 1897).

[16] For the polemic see Ia. Shul'gin, *Ocherk Koliivshchiny po neizdannym i izdannym dokumentam 1768 i blizhaishikh godov* (Kiev, 1890); T. Korzon's attack on Shul'hyn's book, "Nowa książka o koliwszczyznie," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1892, no. 3, pp. 527-40; Shul'hyn's reply, "Pravda o Koliivshchine pol'skogo istorika g. Korzona," *Kievskaia starina*, 1893, no. 1, pp. 126-60.

In the 1920s, the Ukrainian historian of Jewish origin Osyp Hermaize (1892-?) discovered the Russian trial records of several major figures in the 1768 uprising. Well aware of the slaughter of Jews during the Koliivshchyna, Hermaize was somewhat reserved in his interpretation.[17] He believed that the uprising drew support primarily from the steppe riffraff divorced from agriculture and dependent upon hunting and fishing for their livelihood. Yet Hermaize recognized three elements unifying the rebels: (1) hatred of the *szlachta* social order; (2) adherence to Orthodoxy as the prime determinant of friend or foe; (3) belief that the Russian government would assist in their struggle against the Poles.

After Hermaize's work little was added to existing materials or interpretations. Surprisingly, the topic was virtually ignored by Soviet historians, despite its clear elements of social struggle. The few pamphlets that did appear were popular in nature and recounted only what was already known.[18] However, the two-hundredth anniversary of the Koliivshchyna (1968) provided the spark for new studies in the Soviet Ukraine, Poland, and the West. For the first time since 1928-1930, the haidamak movement and the Koliivshchyna became the subject of scholarly reappraisal.

The Soviet jubilee celebration began with a pre-anniversary publication, Oleksandr Lola's *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini 20-60 rr. XVIII st.* Based on archival materials as well as published sources, Lola's book gave the first official Soviet overview of the haidamak movement. Unfortunately, the work cannot be considered an authoritative study that replaces previous scholarship. It is marred by numerous factual errors, a cumbersome and misleading system of citations, and insufficient utilization of archival sources.[19] Moreover, Lola often resorts to simplistic clichés. For example, the peasants are shown to be uniformly and continously oppressed. To a certain extent this portrayal is historically correct, but their oppression was certainly not constant in degree. In the early eighteenth century, when the

[17] O. Hermaize, "Koliivshchyna v svitli novoznaidenykh materiialiv," *Ukraina*, 1924, no. 1-2; *Kodens'ka knyha sudovykh sprav* (= Vol. 2: *Ukrains'kyi arkhiv*) (Kiev, 1931). The latter collection of the Polish trial records was published without mention of Hermaize, although he was its editor.

[18] A. Dmitriev, *Koliivshchina* (Moscow, 1934); A. Dmitriev, *Gaidamachina* (Moscow, 1939); Kost' Huslystyi, *Koliivshchyna* (Kiev, 1947); V. A. Golobutskii, *Maksim Zheleznyak* (Moscow, 1960).

[19] These deficiences have been pointed out in an extensive review by W. Serczyk in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 73, no. 4 (1966): 968-72.

Polish magnates were attempting to recolonize the devastated Right-Bank Ukraine, they granted the peasants exemption from the corvée and offered them various incentives for settling. The position of the peasantry in the 1720s was therefore not as bleak as Lola presents, although by the 1760s it had become considerably worse.

In addition to Lola's monograph, the Soviet jubilee celebration resulted in the publication of several articles in *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, the documentary collection *Haidamatskyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.*, and a book entitled *Koliivshchyna. Haidamats'kyi rukh* contains 317 documents, including 243 previously unpublished;[20] thus the volume can be expected to expand the base for the study of the haidamak movement. *Koliivshchyna* is a collection of articles celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of the uprising. In the usual style of Soviet anniversary editions, it includes speeches by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and various party officials. The book also contains sections dealing with the Koliivshchyna theme in contemporary drama, music, and cinema. Among this chaff there are, however, ten articles of some interest to the historian.[21]

The recent Soviet historical works present a dramatic new reevaluation of the haidamak movement and the Koliivshchyna. While Soviet historians differ in emphasis, their basic interpretation is uniform. Its principal tenets, far from consistent, are the following:

(1) The haidamak movement was a class struggle by the peasants and the lower Cossacks against the feudal order;

(2) The haidamak movement was also a struggle for national liberation and for "reunion" with Russia;

(3) The haidamak movement spanned virtually all of the Ukraine, including the Left-Bank, Sloboda, and Western Ukraine;

[20] For a thorough review of *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.* by A. Sorokowski, see *Recenzija* 4, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1974): 42-53.

[21] D. I. Myshko, "Borot'ba trudiashchykh mas Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy na peredodni Koliivshchyny za svoie vyzvolennia i vozz"iednannia z Rosiieiu (30-50-ti roky XVIII st.)," pp. 45-55; V. O. Markina, "Sotsial'no-ekonomichni peredumovy Koliivshchyny," pp. 56-65; K. I. Stetsiuk, "Koliivshchyna—velyke narodno-vyzvol'ne antyfeodal'ne povstannia na Ukraini XVIII st.," pp. 66-80; V. V. Hrabovets'kyi, "Haidamats'ki rukhy i opryshkivstvo," pp. 81-90; I. H. Shul'ha, "Vidhomin Koliivshchyny v Karpatakh," pp. 91-96; O. S. Kompan, "Vplyv Koliivshchyny na antyfeodal'nu borot'bu v Rosii, Pol'shchi i Bilorusii," pp. 97-107; I. L. Butych, "Arkhivni dzherela pro Koliivshchynu," pp. 108-17; H. Ia. Serhiienko, "Istoriohrafiia Koliivshchyny," pp. 118-33; H. Iu. Khraban, "Memuary iak istoriohrafichne dzherelo vyvchennia narodno-vyzvol'noho povstannia 1768 r.," pp. 134-46; O. I. Dei, "Koliivshchyna v narodnii tvorchosti," pp. 147-57.

(4) The haidamaks were multinational—including Ukrainians, Moldavians, Serbs, Russians, and even Poles. By implication, the exploiters were also multinational—Polish *szlachta*, Russian "tsarism," and the Ukrainian *starshyna* (officer class). If proved, this hypothesis would bolster the concept of international class struggle.

Soviet historians have great difficulty in balancing the concept of an anti-feudal class war with that of a national-religious struggle. Lola, who accepted the primacy of the class struggle, still gave prominence to the national aspect, especially the persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox population on the Right Bank. Subsequently, Soviet historians have emphasized the class aspect of the haidamak movement much more strongly. For example, Ivan Hurzhii and V. Kulakovs'kyi deny that the hegumen Mel'khisedek Znachko-Iavors'kyi had any influence in the 1768 uprising. According to them, since Znachko-Iavors'kyi belonged to the upper Orthodox clergy who favored class exploitation, he could not have had any role in preparations for the uprising.[22] While Znachko-Iavors'kyi was indeed absent from the Right Bank at the uprising's outbreak, his militant defense of Orthodoxy during the preceding years did much to create the atmosphere for the uprising. Also, the position of the higher clergy was not at all clear. While they were certainly not proponents of social revolution and were usually within legal bounds in their struggle for Orthodoxy, the clergy did, in some instances, cooperate with the haidamaks. The Motronyn Monastery, for example, was the center of the Kolii uprising. Moreover, documents published by the Soviets themselves indicate that Orthodox monasteries, especially the Caves Monastery at Kiev, were frequent hiding places for haidamak regiments.[23]

The second Soviet claim is that the haidamak movement extended to virtually all areas of the Ukraine. Lola points out instances of haidamak attacks in the lands of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine, as well as the Polish Right Bank. He even connects the haidamak movement with Galicia and the opryshky robbers in the Carpathian regions who occasionally distri-

[22] I. O. Hurzhii and V. M. Kulakovs'kyi, "Vyznachna podiia v istorii ukrains'koho narodu: Do 200-richchia Koliivshchyny," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1968, no. 6, p. 61.

[23] *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.*, doc. 6, p. 4; doc. 47, p. 121; doc. 111, p. 227; doc. 116, p. 234; doc. 126, p. 246; doc. 132; p. 251; doc. 134, p. 254.

buted their booty to the poor.[24] All subsequent Soviet works have followed this interpretation.

The claim that the haidamaks operated in the Left-Bank, Sloboda, and Western Ukraine deviates considerably from previously held views. Although earlier historians had recognized that the Zaporozhian Cossacks frequently led haidamak detachments and that the haidamaks went back and forth across the Polish-Russian border, they regarded the haidamak movement as occurring primarily in the Right-Bank Ukraine, an area under Polish control. On first consideration the new Soviet position seems well taken when applied to the Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine : at least, one can establish with certainty that haidamak units were present there. The crucial question, however, is whether the haidamaks acted in the same manner on the Left Bank as on the Right Bank. Based on Lola's work and the Soviet documentary collection, most haidamak units on the Left Bank appear to have been transitory, concerned only with taking provisions or hiding. Occasionally, the haidamaks did attack homesteads, murder landlords, or burn records. But, on the whole, the haidamaks did not engage in the same kind of guerilla warfare as on the Right Bank.[25] The Soviets have thus far failed to prove that the haidamak movement was organically connected with the Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine. They have shown, however, that these territories were used as recruiting and training areas for raids into the Right Bank and as hiding places to avoid capture. In this respect, the Left-Bank, Sloboda Ukraine, and especially, the Zaporozhian lands were crucial to the haidamaks, but the movement itself was a Right-Bank phenomenon.

In discussing the territorial extent of the haidamak movement, one must keep in mind that the Left-Bank, Sloboda, and Western Ukraine were the scene of social struggle. There were major uprisings of Cossacks and peasants in the towns of Klishchyntsi (1767) and Turbai (1789-93). Peasants on occasion attacked their landlords and burned records. But these were independent occurrences with local root causes, having only superficial similarities with the haidamak movement.

[24] Lola, *Haidamats'kyi rukh*, pp. 93-107, 120-22.

[25] See *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.*, doc. 79, p. 182; doc. 82, p. 185; doc. 84, p. 187; doc. 85, p. 189; doc. 88, p. 191; doc. 106, p. 221; doc. 108, p. 224; doc. 112, p. 228; doc. 113, p. 230; doc. 114, p. 231; doc. 138, p. 258; doc. 154, p. 274; doc. 157, p. 276; doc. 177, p. 319; doc. 185, p. 329; doc. 186, p. 330; doc. 189, p. 334.

While there is some evidence for claiming that the haidamak movement extended to the Left Bank, its link with the Western Ukraine is more tenuous. The alleged connection with the Western Ukraine mentioned by all Soviet historians has been most systematically developed by the specialist of the opryshky movement and West Ukrainian peasantry, Volodymyr Hrabovets'kyi, who unabashedly identifies the haidamaky with the opryshky. Hrabovets'kyi totally ignored the basic difference between the two groups—namely, that the the opryshky lacked any national or religious motivation. At best, their attacks can be interpreted as part of a social struggle, and, at worst, as merely criminal acts. The similarities between the haidamaks and opryshky that Hrabovets'kyi emphasizes are wholly superficial: both were partisan movements having similar methods of operation and a comparable social composition.[26] If one were to apply only these criteria, the raids of the Mexican rebel, Pancho Villa, could readily be subsumed under the haidamak movement! As far as evidence is concerned, Hrabovets'kyi and the documentary collection provide only one example of an opryshok becoming a haidamak.[27]

Hrabovets'kyi attempts to buttress his thesis through the identification of "West Ukrainian" surnames among the haidamaks.[28] Given the constant migration of population and the difficulties in positively detemining West Ukrainian names, any proof on the basis of name alone is surely questionable. Even if the procedure were fully acceptable, the only conclusion one could derive is that some of the rebels were originally from the Western Ukraine, not that the haidamak movement existed in the Western Ukraine. On the whole, the Soviets have shown that haidamaks were present in the Left-Bank and Sloboda Ukraine, but have failed to prove that the haidamak movement was linked with the Western Ukraine or the Carpathian opryshky.

The fourth Soviet thesis is that the haidamak movement was multinational in composition. According to the Soviets, the progressive forces—peasants, Cossacks, and the downtrodden in general—of several nationalities joined in the struggle against the class enemies,

[26] V. V. Hrabovets'kyi, "Haidamats'ki rukhy i opryshkivstvo," *Koliivshchyna 1768*, pp. 81-91; I. H. Shul'ha, "Vidhomin Koliivshchyny v Karpatakh," *Koliivshchyna 1768*, pp. 91-97.

[27] Hrabovets'kyi, "Haidamats'ki rukhy i opryshkivstvo," p. 90; *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.*, doc. 161, pp. 294-96.

[28] Hrabovets'kyi, "Haidamats'ki rukhy i opryshkivstvo," p. 90. See also his *Antyfeodal'na borot'ba karpats'koho opryshkivstva XVI-XIX st.* (L'viv, 1966).

i.e., the Polish *szlachta*, Russian tsarism, and the Ukrainian *starshyna*. Ivan Hurzhii and V. Kulakovs'kyi state this hypothesis as if it were fact,[29] whereas Kateryna Stetsiuk and Fedir Shevchenko attempt to provide documentation for such an assertion. They cite various official reports which mention Moldavians, Russians, Serbs and others who had joined the haidamak movement.[30] While these reports give some idea of the geographical extent of the movement, they cannot be used as indicators of ethnicity. Ukrainians lived under Polish, Russian, Turkish and even Serbian administration (in Nova-Serbiia), and official reports gave an individual's allegiance, not his ethnic background. For example, in checking the records cited by Fedir Shevchenko, one discovers that a "Vlach" haidamak was called Ihnat Martynenko.[31] While Martynenko's Ukrainian-sounding name does not positively disprove the possibility of his being a "Vlach," it certainly puts the claim into question. Thus, wherever possible, all available evidence (name, allegiance, area of origin, etc.) should have been corroborated before any assumptions as to ethnicity were made.

The Soviets' rash conclusions on ethnicity are compounded by the questionable use of source materials. For example, on the basis of the Kodnia Polish trial records, Fedir Shevchenko claims that at least fifty Russians, as well as numerous Serbs, Vlachs, and other non-Ukrainians participated in the haidamak movement. In checking his citations, however, one discovers that most of the Russians mentioned were either suing Poles for non-payment of debts or had deserted from the Russian army.[32] Since the Kodnia record book is a mechanical compilation of military trials that were held at various places in the Right Bank, it includes proceedings involving Poles, Russians, Vlachs and Jews that have nothing to do with the haidamak movement. Shevchenko nonetheless uses these cases as "proof" of non-Ukrainian participation in the haidamak movement.

Similarly, in checking Stetsiuk's extensive citation of documentary sources, one finds corroboration for only one case—that of a possible

[29] I. O. Hurzhii and V. M. Kulakovs'kyi, "Vyznachna podiia v istorii ukrains'koho narodu: Do 200-richchia Koliivshchyny," p. 67.

[30] K. I. Stetsiuk, "Koliivshchyna—velyke narodno-vyzvol'ne antyfeodal'ne povstannia na Ukraini XVIII st.," *Koliivshchyna 1768*, p. 69; F. P. Shevchenko, "Pro mizhnarodne znachennia povstannia 1768 r. na Pravoberezhnii Ukraini," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1968, no. 9, pp. 13-14.

[31] *Ukrains'kyi arkhiv* 2 (1931): 4.

[32] F. P. Shevchenko ("Pro mizhnarodne znachennia," p. 13) cites *Ukrains'kyi arkhiv* 2 (1931): 126-27, 131-52, 262, 364-68.

"Serb," Mykolaevych, helping the haidamaks.[33] Her other citations (possibly due to printing errors) also have nothing to do with the haidamak movement.[34] In all fairness to Shevchenko and Stetsiuk, one should add that they note several instances of a Vlach or Serb aiding the haidamaks. Moreover, Shevchenko also cites unpublished archives which cannot be verified by this reviewer. It is possible that these contain new information. But the evidence presented by Soviet scholars to date is meager and unconvincing, and the methodology is, at best, slipshod and, at worst, dishonest.

Not only have the Soviet historians failed to document their views, but their interpretations tend to obscure some well-known facts about the haidamaky. For example, a person having access to only recent Soviet publications would have no knowledge of the haidamaks' slaughter of Jews, for the Soviets treat them as part of the faceless class enemy that was challenged by the progressive international lower class. Instead of increased understanding of the haidamak movement, Soviet historians have developed, in fact, a new mythology.

In contrast to the Soviet scholars, Polish historian W. Serczyk has carefully intertwined the social, national, and religious factors to present a balanced account of the haidamak movement and the Koliivshchyna. His publications are an article on Mel'khisedek Znachko-Iavors'kyi, a monograph on the 1768 Kolii uprising, and a popular book on the haidamak movement.[35] These works represent a revolution in Polish historiography, for Serczyk completely rejects the old standard works by Rawita-Gawroński, regarding them as "one-sided, blind and tendentious" (*Koliszczyzna*, p. 12). In effect, Serczyk has destroyed the few remaining traces of the haidamak myth that had lingered so long in Polish historiography.

Serczyk's major contribution to the history of the Koliivshchyna is a careful analysis of the activities of the hegumen Mel'khisedek Znachko-Iavors'kyi and the role that the Matronyn and Mezhyhir'ia monasteries played in organizing the revolt. On the basis of Soviet and Polish archival sources, Serczyk convincingly disproves the old

[33] K. I. Stetsiuk ("Koliivshchyna," p. 69) cites *Ukrains'kyi arkhiv* 2 (1931): 246, 250, 252.
[34] Stetsiuk, "Koliivshchyna," p. 69, citing *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 3, vol. 2, pp. 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 93, 172, 176.
[35] W. A. Serczyk, "Melchizedek Znaczko-Jaworski i klasztor motreninski przed wybuchem koliszczyzny," *Studia Historyczne*, no. 3 (1968), pp. 297-322; *Koliszczyzna* (Cracow, 1968); *Hajdamacy* (Cracow, 1972).

myth that the hegumen of the Matronyn monastery, Mel'khisedek Znachko-Iavors'kyi, initiated the uprising and blessed the knives of the rebels. Indeed, Serczyk proves that Znachko-Iavors'kyi was not present in the Right-Bank Ukraine when the uprising occurred. Yet, though Znachko-Iavors'kyi did not participate in the Koliivshchyna directly, he did contribute to its outbreak, as Serczyk shows by tracing how the two Right-Bank monasteries became the center for Orthodox proselytizing in that region. For the first time, the complex interrelationships between the Right-Bank monasteries, the hegumen Mel'khisedek, the bishop of Pereiaslav (in the Left-Bank Ukraine), and the attempts of the Orthodox clergy to obtain the support of the Russian authorities have been unraveled. While there is no evidence that the Russian authorities were in any way responsible for provoking the uprising, Serczyk shows how the religious struggle created a charged atmosphere which needed only a spark to ignite.

Another innovation in Serczyk's work is the attempt to ascertain the social composition of the Kolii rebels. On the basis of extensive documentation, Serczyk concludes that there were three major groups that made the uprising possible: Cossacks from the Zaporozhian Sich who provided the military expertise, the peasants of the Right Bank, and the Cossacks who served in the private armies of various Polish magnates on the Right-Bank. While Serczyk does not deny the possibility of non-Ukrainians joining the rebels, he indicates that the vast majority was Ukrainian.

Serczyk does not hesitate to describe the brutality perpetrated by both sides. Unlike the Soviets who avoid this topic, Serczyk shows that although the two principal leaders, Zalizniak and Honta, attempted to control the rebels and prevent the slaughter at Uman', their efforts were in vain. According to official reports, the rebels slaughtered 12,000 people (7,000 Poles and 5,000 Jews)—a figure which is probably exaggerated.[36] Serczyk also describes the brutal repression after the uprising had been quelled. Not only were all the rebels tortured or executed by impalements, quarterings, etc., but thousands of peasants who had nothing to do with the uprising were killed.

Serczyk recognizes the importance of the haidamaks in the establishment of a modern Ukrainian identity—a fact often overlooked in

[36] *Koliszcyzna*, p. 99. H. Iu. Khraban in "Memuary iak istoriohrafichne dzherelo vyvchennia narodno-vyzvol'noho povstannia 1768 r.," *Koliivshchyna 1768*, p. 145, disputes this figure. He believes that the number killed was approximately 2,000.

recent historiography. For Serczyk, the haidamak movement and the Kolii uprising were the ultimate rejection of Polish rule. Their occurrence contributed to the common heritage, national myth, and the feeling of ethnic unity of Ukrainians on both sides of the Russian-Polish border.

Although Serczyk's monograph is a refreshingly balanced work of original research, a few of his conclusions are subject to question. Along with nineteenth-century scholars and modern Soviet historians, Serczyk believes that the rebels strove for union with Russia. Such a view needs elaboration, especially in light of the Soviets' attribution to the Ukrainians of a virtually pathological obsession for "reunion with Russia." It is true that the rebels made use of a forged manifesto allegedly issued by Catherine and fully expected the assistance or at least neutrality of the Russian forces. They wished to renew the Cossack system that was functioning just across the border under Russian protection. Moreover, actual Russian intervention on behalf of the Orthodox and the Russophile leanings of the higher clergy did much to create a pro-Russian atmosphere. But there is no evidence that any rebel called for a union with Russia. Based on the factors mentioned above, one can, at best, infer such an aim. It would probably be more correct to suppose that the rebels hoped to obtain "Russian protection" rather than to believe that they sought any sort of "reunion."

Another dubious asertion made by Serczyk is that the Russian armies remained neutral until the rebels attacked the Turkish border town of Balta, thus involving Russia in a possible war with the Ottoman Empire (*Koliszczyzna*, p. 104). Although there was some confusion among local Russian army commanders on the course of action that should be taken—especially in light of the rebels' claim that they were acting on behalf of Catherine II—Serczyk himself provides evidence that Russian authorities had decided to suppress the uprising even prior to the Balta incident (*Koliszczyzna*, pp. 116-20). However, these are minor criticisms of a monograph that will probably, and appropriately, become the standard work on the Koliiv uprising.

From the scholarly viewpoint, Serczyk's *Hajdamacy* is the least satisfactory of his works. Written for popular consumption, it lacks a scholarly apparatus and it is written in the "blood and guts" style. In portraying the exotic frontier Serczyk treats as authentic data such apocryphal texts as the Zaporozhian letter to the sultan (pp. 17-18).

Nevertheless, the book does contain probably the best popular description yet written of the social and political situation on the Right Bank, of eighteenth-century daily life, and of the complexities of the religious struggle among the Orthodox, Uniates, and Roman Catholics. The book also includes the results of Serczyk's original research that are presented in detail in his other, more scholarly works.

In contrast to the many works on the haidamaks that have appeared in the Ukraine and Poland, only one monograph on the Kolii uprising has been published in the West—Petro Mirchuk's *Koliivshchyna: Haidamats'ke povstannia 1768 r.* (1973). Since the author, a well-known émigré publicist and political activist, had no access to archival material, the work does not contain any new data. Mirchuk, nevertheless, offers a bold new interpretation of the Koliiv uprising. Considering the topic from the viewpoint of "Ukrainian state traditions" (p. 148) Mirchuk comes to three principal conclusions:

(1) The Kolii uprising was not an isolated rebellion, but rather a part of the whole haidamak movement. The latter was a continuous organic struggle against Polish occupation;

(2) Religious and social oppression was only a secondary cause of the haidamak movement. The main cause was national strife—the age-old enmity between Ukrainian and Polish spirituality, culture, and social systems. This was manifested by the Ukrainians' constant striving for separation from Poland and reestablishment of a Ukrainian state;

(3) The Kolii uprising had clearly defined goals—the liberation of the entire Ukraine from Poland and the renewal of an independent Ukrainian state headed by a hetman (pp. 180-81).

Mirchuk's first and, to some extent, second conclusions have considerable basis, especially if the national struggle is interpreted within a broad religious and cultural context. His emphasis on Ukrainian attempts to separate from Poland, however, is somewhat misplaced. For it was not primarily the desire to separate from Poland, but to maintain a native social, religious, cultural, and political system that triggered the seventeenth-century rebellions and the eighteenth-century haidamak movement. Perhaps, in the context of Polish-Lithuanian politics, these did ultimately lead to separation, but the rebels did not start out with this goal in mind.

While Mirchuk's first two conclusions are, with certain reservations, acceptable, his third hypothesis—that the Kolii rebels sought an

independent Ukrainian state and the renewal of the Hetmanate—is not. The reestablishment of the Hetmanate and the election of M. Zalizniak as hetman have been attested to only in the memoir literature.[37] While Mirchuk readily rejects the memoir literature when discussing most other debatable points, on this issue he not only accepts Zalizniak's hetmancy as fact, but further embellishes this hypothesis. He assigns Zalizniak's subordinates various appropriate Cossack ranks—none of which are verifiable in any source.[38]

There is relatively little indisputable data on Zalizniak's position. When he and his Cossacks came to the Motrenyn Monastery, he was elected a colonel (*polkovnyk*). In all subsequent known documents Zalizniak titled himself such. In the trials of the rebels there is not one case in which someone referred to Zalizniak as "hetman." Indeed, one of the charges leveled against Zalizniak by the Russian authorities was that he proclaimed himself "polkovnyk."[39] Moreover, a decree issued by Zalizniak after the date when Mirchuk says he assumed the hetmancy is signed "polkovnyk."[40] Thus, until some direct evidence is found, Zalizniak's becoming hetman remains only a speculation.

Mirchuk's arguments that the Koliivshchyna rebels created an independent Ukrainian state rests on the supposition that Zalizniak was elected hetman, as well as on deductive reasoning: since the rebels controlled a fairly large territory inhabited by the Ukrainian populace under an established Ukrainian authority (hetman and a few other offices), a Ukrainian state came into being (pp. 275-78.) That this "state" existed for approximately three weeks (from the time of Zalizniak's alleged assumption of the hetmancy to the crushing of the revolt) and that it was not recognized by any power is inconsequential to Mirchuk. Yet, on these grounds alone, most jurists would dismiss any claim to statehood. An unsuccessful revolt, even if it has the clear objective of establishing an independent state, is still considered by most historians as merely a failed attempt. For the

[37] Khraban, "Memuary," p. 143.
[38] He assigns the rank of "polkovnyk" to Ivan Honta, Semen Nezhyvyi, Mykyta Shvachka, Andrii Zhurba, and Ivan Bondarenko (pp. 227-57).
[39] Khraban, "Memuary," p. 143; *Haidamats'kyi rukh na Ukraini v XVIII st.*, doc. 207, pp. 359-62; doc. 216, pp. 379-80; doc. 227, pp. 396-98; doc. 243, pp. 420-21; doc. 244, pp. 427-29.
[40] *Haidamats'kyi rukh*, doc. 200, p. 351; the decree was issued on 13/24 June 1768 in Uman'. Mirchuk claims that Zalizniak was proclaimed hetman on 11/22 June 1768 in Uman'.

Koliivshchyna there is no evidence that the rebels even intended to establish such a state.

Even if Zalizniak's election as hetman were accepted as fact, this still cannot be construed as a wish for independence. Mirchuk presumes that "sovereignty lies with the people, who having deposed foreign rule then created their own state"—a theory well-suited to modern times but unrecognized in eighteenth-century Eastern Europe. Sovereignty derived from a "sovereign," and Cossackdom was a subsystem under such a ruler. Ukrainian hetmans derived their legitimacy not only from election by their fellow Cossacks, but also from their recognition by a sovereign. Zalizniak's greatest problem was to gain legitimacy for wielding some kind of authority. Thus he forged ukases by Catherine II and signed some of his own decrees as Catherine's trusted polkovnyk.[41] This does not necessarily mean that Zalizniak yearned for union with Russia, as claimed by the Soviet historians, nor does it indicate that he could imagine becoming the ruler of an independent Ukraine. If he thought in such political terms at all, he probably wished to secure the kind of Russian protection enjoyed by the Zaporozhian Cossacks or the Hetmanate. The creation of an independent Ukrainian state, however, went beyond the conceptual possibilities of Zalizniak and his fellow haidamaks.

The discussion of Zalizniak's alleged hetmancy and Ukrainian independence reveal the major problem in Mirchuk's work: it contains a set of *a priori* conclusions, most of which are based on twentieth-century political considerations. For Mirchuk, the Kolii rebels had the same spirit and aspirations as did the twentieth-century Ukrainian partisan bands that fought various occupying regimes (Polish, German, Soviet).[42] Such a parallel may be legitimate, but in assigning twentieth-century political goals to eighteenth-century figures, Mirchuk completely loses historical perspective and objectivity.

In light of these various and conflicting interpretations, this reviewer wishes to conclude by expressing his own views on the haidamak movement and Koliiv uprising, based not on original research but on a critical assessment of the scholarly literature on the topic.

[41] *Haidamats'kyi rukh*, doc. 198, pp. 347-49.

[42] Occasionally Mirchuk makes direct comparisons with the modern partisan movement; see p. 185.

The haidamak movement was organically connected with a certain territory—the Right-Bank Ukraine. Other regions—the lands of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Left-Bank Ukraine and Sloboda Ukraine—although providing some leaders and cadres and serving as convenient staging and hiding areas for the haidamaks, were not the primary theater of operations. However, these areas were of great importance in providing an example of Ukrainian self-rule and the Cossack way of life.

The haidamak movement had not only national-religious aspects but social ones, all of which intertwined and reinforced each other. In the most simplistic terms, the Polish Roman Catholic magnates exploited the Ukrainian Orthodox or nominally Uniate peasantry and Cossacks for economic gain. This was frequently done through Jewish intermediaries, who were stewards of landed estates and could purchase the right to dispense alcoholic beverages and other monopolies otherwise enjoyed exclusively by the Polish *szlachta*. At the same time, the Orthodox Church and, to a large extent, Ukrainian culture was persecuted.

These were the perennial conditions of conflict on the Ukrainian borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the seventeenth century they sparked the Khmel'nyts'kyi Revolution that ultimately severed the greater part of the Ukraine from Poland. In the eighteenth century they gave rise to the haidamak movement. As in the Khmel'nyts'kyi Revolution, the haidamaks slaughtered the *szlachta* and the Jews alike. But the eighteenth-century rebels had neither a man of genius to lead the revolt, nor an established Ukrainian elite who could man a new state structure, nor the might of the Zaporozhian Army, now muzzled by the Russian authorities. So instead of staging the massive revolts of the previous century, small haidamak bands roamed the Right Bank, attacking Polish landlords, Jewish stewards and innkeepers, and Roman Catholic churches and monasteries.

On three occasions, the haidamaks sparked major uprisings. In each case, the rebels attempted to reconstitute the Cossack political and social structure. The haidamaks may well have struggled against the feudal order, as Soviet scholars claim, but the haidamak movement was basically conservative, if not reactionary, in character, for it sought to restore the previous Cossack system. Unlike the opryshky robbers in the Carpathian regions, the haidamaks followed certain traditions and had particular visions: a land freed from Poles, Jews, and landlords; the abolition of serfdom, personal freedom, and ownership

of land; free exercise of the Orthodox faith; and the Cossack way of life. In the end, however, the haidamaks lacked the leadership and articulateness to transform their aspirations into a coherent political program.

The haidamak movement and the Koliivshchyna will undoubtedly remain the subject of controversy. Recent scholarship—mostly Soviet—has added new materials and broken new ground in interpretation. The old myths, challenged through a century of scholarship, have finally been dispelled. In this respect, the thoroughly researched and balanced accounts of Władysław Serczyk are especially noteworthy. But such positive developments have been marred by Soviet and émigré insistence on fitting the haidamak movement into a Procrustean bed of ideological preconceptions. Such "scholarship" serves to obfuscate rather than to clarify the events of the eighteenth century. While the old myths have finally died, new ones have been created to take their place.

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CHRONICLE

DMYTRO ČYŽEVS'KYJ, *IN MEMORIAM*
(23 MARCH 1894-18 APRIL 1977)

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj (Tschižewskij), one of the last universal Slavic scholars and the leading authority on Ukrainian literature and philology, passed away in Heidelberg, Germany, on 18 April 1977. For several decades his towering personality had dominated all the major aspects of Slavic studies, especially in Germany, his adopted country.

I

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj was born on 23 March 1894, in the southern Ukrainian town of Oleksandrija (Kirovohrad oblast'), once the Zaporozhian winter-quarters of Usivka. His was a new Ukrainian Cossack gentry family. Its founder, Petro Lazarevyč Čyževs'kyj, of humble origin, possessed the gift of a fine tenor voice. Along with other musically talented young Ukrainians (e.g., the Rozum-Rozumovs'kyjs), he was drafted into the Imperial choir in St. Petersburg during the relaxed reign of Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-1762). Petro soon became a renowned court singer (*pridvornyj tenorist*), and in 1743 was rewarded with hereditary nobility.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Čyževs'kyj family had two branches—the Poltava and the Oleksandrija. The most interesting representative of the former was Pavlo Ivanovyč Čyževs'kyj (1860-1925), a follower of Myxajlo Drahomanov (1841-1895) and an uncle of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj. Together with his fellow student Volodymyr Vernads'kyj (1863-1945), who became the world famous scientist and philosopher, first president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev, and father of the historian George Vernadsky (1887-1973), Pavlo helped to smuggle illegal publications from Geneva into the Ukraine. Pavlo Čyževs'kyj was elected to the First Duma (1906) from the Poltava Government, and organized its Ukrainian faction. He was active during the Ukrainian Revolution, and in

1919 headed the Ukrainian trade mission to Switzerland, where he had once studied. His theoretical work *Osnovy ukrajins'koji deržavnosty* was published in Vienna in 1921.

Dmytro's father, Ivan Kostjantynovyč Čyževs'kyj, was born into the Oleksandrija branch of the family. In 1887, during the reactionary regime of Alexander III (1881-1894), Ivan's liberal views led to his arrest and a two-year imprisonment. Afterwards he was deported to northern Russia and, subsequently, confined to his estates in Oleksandrija. Like other noble families of the Ukraine, the Čyževs'kyjs of the Oleksandrija branch spent the "social season" in St. Petersburg. There Ivan Čyževs'kyj had met the Ukrainian noblewoman and painter Marija Jeršova, whom he married after his return from exile. Their son, Dmytro, was born on his father's estates.

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj was fond of saying that he inherited an interest in science and politics from his father and a love of literature, art, and music from his mother. Most of the unusually gifted boy's education took place at home, although he did attend the local primary school and, from 1904 to 1911, the classical gymnasium in Oleksandrija, which offered instruction in Latin and Greek. Dmytro later recalled that his teachers at the gymnasium did not stimulate his interests; instead, he relied extensively on his parents' library, which was rich in books on science, philosophy and literature.

The young boy was growing up during an exciting time—that of the first Russian Revolution (1905) and the aborted attempt to establish a constitutional regime in the empire. His father again became involved in politics, now as a member of the Russian Constitutional Democrat (Kadet) Party, and was elected mayor of Oleksandrija. Dmytro's own developing political interests led him to organize literary and political circles, legal and illegal, among his schoolmates. In 1912, according to his colleague, later the historian Panas Fedenko (b. 1893), Dmytro headed a successful intrigue against a Russifying priest.

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In the spring of 1911 Dmytro Čyževs'kyj passed his final school examinations (*attestat zrelosti*) with distinction. That fall he entered the university at St. Petersburg, where for the next two years (1911-1913) he studied mathematics, astronomy and, secondarily, philosophy. In 1912 he published the first of his scholarly articles on astronomy in the new journal *Izvestija Russkogo obščestva ljubitelej*

mirovedenija. The young student's strongest interest, however, was captured by the lectures on metaphysics of his professor of philosophy, Nikolaj Onufrievič Losskij (1870-1965).

Having become convinced that although mathematics "knows," it is philology (*slovesnist'*) which really propels human life,[1] Čyževs'kyj decided that philosophy combined with literature should be his field of endeavor. Subsequently, he left St. Petersburg for Kiev, where the university was then one of the best in the empire. Here the eager young student could satisfy his manifold scholarly interests. He studied at Kiev University from 1913 until 1917, devoting himself mainly to philosophy and "Russian philology," and secondarily to Indo-European linguistics and Slavic philology.

In Kiev, two teachers of philosophy had a great influence on Dmytro. The first was Vasyl' Vasyl'ovyč Zin'kivs'kyj [Zen'kovskij, Zenkovsky] (1881-1962), a young docent with a Gogolian-like divided soul (Russian and Ukrainian) who was to remain Čyževs'kyj's friend for life.[2] When they met Zin'kivs'kyj had just published his first major work, *The Problem of Psychical Causality*, in which he, contrary to Durkheim and Freud, stressed the independence of religious experience. A follower of "the philosophy of heart" developed by the Ukrainian philosopher at Moscow University, Pamfil Danylovyč Jurkevyč (1827-1874), Zin'kivs'kyj introduced Dmytro Čyževs'kyj to the work of Jurkevyč, as well to that of Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722-1794), Mykola Hohol'/Nikolaj Gogol' (1809-1852), and Taras Ševčenko (1814-1861). The second philosopher to influence Dmytro was Oleksij Nykytyč Hiljarov [Giljarov] (1856-1938), the scholar of Plato and Fechner who developed a special sophiological system of synechiology.

Heorhij Ivanovyč Čelpanov (1862-1936), psychologist, logician and author of the remarkable *Brain and Psyche*, taught at Kiev from 1892 until 1907, when he left for Moscow University. Although he did not work with him, Dmytro Čyževs'kyj nevertheless regarded himself as Čelpanov's student and maintained an interest in logic

[1] See the reminiscences of R. Pletner in *Novyj žurnal* (New York), 1977, no. 128, p. 268.

[2] In 1918 Zin'kivs'kyj served as minister of religious affairs in the cabinet of F. Lyzohub during the Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropads'kyj. Later he became professor and rector of the Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris. Among his works was a standard, two-volume history of Russian philosophy (Eng. trans., New York and London, 1953).

throughout his life. During his student years in Kiev, Dmytro also studied the work of Hegel intensively and later became intrigued by the new current in West European philosophical thought, the phenomenology of Husserl.

In the field of "Russian" (i.e., Middle Russian and Middle Ukrainian) literature and philology, Kiev was then the empire's leading center. In the years 1903-1914, the relevant chair at Kiev University was held by Volodymyr Mykolajevyč Peretc (1870-1935), who in 1907 began conducting his famous literary seminar. Unfortunately for the avid young scholar who had just begun to study under him, by 1914 Peretc had already been elected member of the Imperial Academy and left for St. Petersburg. But five of his former students divided the field of their mentor and carried on his tradition. One of them, Oleksandr Adrijanovyč Nazarevs'kyj (b. 1887), wrote a monograph on Puškin and Goethe which apparently led Dmytro Čyževs'kyj to investigate the influence of Friedrich Schiller on Russian literature.

The popularity of West European literary topics in Kiev was largely due to the scholar of comparative German and Romance literature Mykola Pavlovyč Daškevyč (1852-1908), who taught in Kiev from 1877 to 1908. Slavic literature as a scholarly discipline was established there by two leading scholars in the field—Oleksandr Oleksandrovyč Kotljarevs'kyj (1837-1881), from 1875, and Tymofij Dmytrovyč Floryns'kyj [Florinskij] (1854-1919), from 1882. Slavic philology was the domain of Mykola Kuz'myč Hruns'kyj (1872-1951), who became a professor of the field in 1910. Comparative Indo-European linguistics was taught by the Sanskritist Fedir Ivanovyč Knauer (1849-1918).

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Dmytro Čyževs'kyj passed his general examinations in Kiev in 1918. His candidate's dissertation on the philosophical development of Schiller was written in 1919; one section was later published in German (*Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, 1929, no. 6, pp. 1-42).

* * *

During his student years Dmytro Čyževs'kyj took active part in the revolutionary movement. Like many young noblemen, he became a Marxist. His work in organizing workers and membership in the Russian Social Democratic Party (Mensheviks) led to imprisonment by the regime in 1916. He served his sentence until the March revolution of 1917, and for a year thereafter edited a Menshevik

newspaper. In 1919 he married a fellow party member, Lidija Israelovna Maršak [Marshak] of Kiev, who later became a physician.[3] During the Ukrainian Revolution he was a member of the Russian faction of the Central Rada's governing board (*Mala Rada*). As one of its four "minority" representatives, he made history, on 22 January 1918, by voting against the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic.[4]

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's political affiliation with the Russian Social Democrats and, from 1921, with the German Social Democrats continued until 1924. In 1926 Čyževs'kyj set aside his commitment to politics for an involvement in the German Christian ecumenical movement, which continued to the end of his life.

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In 1920, the faculty of Mme. Žekulina's private women's institute in Kiev elected Dmytro Čyževs'kyj docent in general linguistics. The following year his alma mater, Kiev University, which had just become the Kiev Pedagogical Institute, invited him to become docent in philosophy. Before he could deliver his first lecture, however, Čyževs'kyj was arrested and sent to a detention camp. Miraculously, he escaped, in circumstances described by his first German student of philosophy, Dr. Wolfgang Berkefeld, in the Festschrift *Orbis Scriptus* (Munich [1966], p. 30). Having illegally crossed the Polish-Soviet border, he arrived in Heidelberg on 13 May 1921.

In leaving his country Dmytro Čyževs'kyj opted for Germany for reasons we will note later. The University of Heidelberg itself was not his choice as an academic afiliation: he went there only because it was the home of his brother-in-law, the sociologist Jacob Marshak (1899-1977), who had studied with Max Weber (1864-1920) and was later to work in the United States. Čyževs'kyj remained in Heidelberg only two semesters (spring 1921 - fall 1921/22), attending the lectures of the philosopher, psychologist, and founder of existentialism Karl Jaspers (1883-1969). His intent, however, was to go to Freiburg im Breisgau and study under Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), the founder of phenomenology whose philosophy had intrigued him as a student in Kiev. The plan was put into action in the spring of 1922:

[3] The Čyževs'kyjs had a daughter, Tatjana, raised by her mother, who is presently professor of Slavic languages at Wayne State University.

[4] It has not been established whether the action was based on his own decision or party directives.

Čyževs'kyj went to Freiburg and remained there until the winter of 1923-24.

During that time the little university town in southern Germany had a unique intellectual atmosphere, due to the leading philosophers and talented students who had flocked there to work with Husserl. In Freiburg Čyževs'kyj could study with not only Husserl, but Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), founder of the philosophy of the "meaning of being" who in 1928 became Husserl's successor; Jonas Cohn (1869-1947), representative of neo-Kantian perceptive-critical idealism and renowned authority on aesthetics; Richard Kroner (1884-1974), the neo-Hegelian who developed a new approach to German philosophy from Kant to Hegel; and Julius Ebbinghaus (b. 1885), a Hegelian who became a strict Kantian. Among Čyževs'kyj's fellow students were the German-Russian philosopher Fedor Stepun (1884-1965), who became his lifelong friend, and the Polish phenomenologist and theoretician of literature, Roman Ingarden (1893-1970).

Four semesters of philosophizing in the illustrious circle headed by Husserl was as much as the refugee could afford: Čyževs'kyj was then obliged to look for gainful employment. His doctoral thesis on Hegel in Russia, begun under the direction of Kroner in 1924, was not completed and defended until 5 July 1933, in Halle. His official new *Doktor-Vater* became Professor Adhémar Gelb (1887-1936), the Moscow-born *Gestaltpsychologe* of the Berlin School.[5] Čyževs'kyj's three obligatory fields of concentration were philosophy, Indo-European linguistics, and church history. He completed his studies *summa cum laude.*

* * *

In the early 1920s, Ukrainian political émigrés who had settled in Prague established, with financial support from the Czechoslovak government, several private institutions of higher learning, among them the Ukrainian Free University (1920) and the Myxajlo Drahomanov Higher Pedagogical Institute (1923). The institute required a specialist in philosophy and, in 1924, invited Dmytro Čyževs'kyj

[5] The second reader of the dissertation was the professor of philosophy Paul Menzer (b. 1873). In the official *vita* added to his dissertation. Čyževs'kyj emphasized the help he received from Emil Utitz (1883-1956), the philosopher of culture who studied with F. Brentano and taught in Halle from 1925-1934. Another local scholar with whom Čyževs'kyj was in close academic and personal contact was Julius Stenzel (1883-1935), the eminent specialist on Plato.

to join the school's faculty. He did so as lecturer, soon becoming docent (1925) and professor (1926). Thereafter Čyževs'kyj completed his habilitation dissertation, "Hegel i francuz'ka revoljucija" [Hegel and the French Revolution], defending it at the Ukrainian Free University in 1929. This gave him the status of a "Privat-Dozent" at the university, with the right to teach without salary. In 1932 the university granted him a rank equivalent to associate professor.

In the interwar years Prague was intellectually an exciting city. As the capital of a newly established country—culturally the most advanced of Slavic nations and geographically in the heart of Europe, with a democratic government under the leadership of the scholar-philosopher T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)—Prague became a haven for political refugees from Eastern Europe. To its two existing universities, Czech and German, were added many other schools, including the Ukrainian Free University and the Russian Populist University. The Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society and the Russian Philosophical Society were also active at the time. Dmytro Čyževs'kyj joined these societies, and his association stimulated him to write a history and a historiography of Ukrainian philosophy.[6]

In 1926 the Prague Linguistic Circle was created. The new society initiated original developments in information theory, especially in linguistics (structuralism) and literature (formalism). Among its founders and activists were Vilém Mathesius (1892-1945), Jan Mukařovský (1891-1975), Prince Nikolaj Sergeevič Trubetzkoy (1890-1938) and Roman Jakobson (b. 1896). The circle proved to be an excellent forum for mutual intellectual enrichment. The correspondence of its leader, Prince N. Trubetzkoy, shows that Čyževs'kyj was considered an authority in logic and the psychology of language.[7] For his part, Čyževs'kyj later declared that he learned much about linguistics and the theory of literature from fellow members Prince N. Trubetzkoy, R. Jakobson, and J. Mukařovský.

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[6] Čyževs'kyj maintained close ties with the Russian intellectuals who had emigrated to Prague, Paris, and Belgrade. Among them were such eminent figures as Fr. Sergej Nikolaevič Bulgakov (1871-1944), philosopher and dogmatist who had studied with Vladimir Solov'ev; Pëtr Berngardovič Struve (1871-1944), philosopher who became a brilliant political theorist; and Simon Ljudvigovič Frank (1877-1950), founder of the most profound philosophical system in Russian thought.

[7] *N. S. Trubetzkoy's Letters and Notes*, ed. by Roman Jakobson et al. (The Hague, 1975), pp. 153, 158, 213, 311, 401.

While working in Prague, Dmytro Čyževs'kyj maintained his ties with scholarly institutions and societies in Germany. He was elected member of two prestigious philosophical associations—the Hegelbund and the Kant Gesellschaft. He also became corresponding fellow, upon its establishment in 1926, of the Ukrainian Research Institute in Berlin. In 1927 Čyževs'kyj began contributing to the leading Slavic journal *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*; subsequently, hardly an issue appeared without his work. A close fellowship developed between Čyževs'kyj and Max Vasmer (1886-1962), the journal's editor-in-chief. Čyževs'kyj later said that he benefited greatly from the erudition of this eminent philologist and Slavicist. Undoubtedly, this fellowship, along with his involvement in the Prague Linguistic Circle and subsequent lectureship in Russian, helped direct Čyževs'kyj's interests from philosophy to Slavic philology.

It was the deteriorating economic situation of émigré scholarly institutions which prompted Čyževs'kyj to accept an invitation from the University of Halle a. d. Saale to become lecturer in Russian. He returned to Germany in 1932. Within a year, however, his chances for advancement in that country were cut short as Hitler came to power. For Čyževs'kyj was not only a foreigner in Germany, but one married to a Jew (*jüdisch versippt*). Until the end of the Second World War, Čyževs'kyj remained a non-tenured lecturer who could be dismissed on a day's notice. From August 1941 to 1945 he was forbidden to leave the city of Halle without special permission from the German political police.

Nevertheless, by the war's end Čyževs'kyj had established himself as the leading Slavicist at Halle and at Jena, where he taught without stipend from 1935 to 1938. His courses encompassed all aspects of Slavic studies—languages, philology, literature, intellectual history, church history. Even though he lacked the status of a German *ordinarius* (full professor), Čyževs'kyj attracted gifted students interested in these fields. For their intellectual benefit he instituted two private circles, one of philosophy, active until 1941, and the other of Slavic studies,[8] which produced several leading Slavicists, including Dietrich Gerhardt and Ludolf Müller. Until 1939 Čyževs'kyj was able to continue his ties in Prague, with the German Charles University, as corresponding fellow of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für slavistische Forschung from 1931, and with the Czech Charles University, as

[8] The latter is vividly described by Wolfgang Berkefeld in *Orbis Scriptus*, pp. 27-33.

fellow of the Slovanský Ústav from 1932. In 1934 the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at the University of Warsaw published Čyževs'kyj's monograph, *Filosofija H. S. Skovorody*. Two years later, the work resulted in Čyževs'kyj's election as fellow of the most prestigious Ukrainian scholarly institution of the time—the Naukove tovarystvo im. Ševčenka in L'viv.

* * *

Events at the war's end forced Dmytro Čyževs'kyj to leave Halle, where he had collected an enormous specialized library. His destination was Marburg/Lahn, where his friend Ernst Benz taught the history of Eastern churches. In November 1945, Čyževs'kyj was appointed *Lehrbeauftragter* for Slavic philology and acting director of the newly established Slavic Seminar at the University of Marburg.[9] The hoped-for invitation to the university's chair of Slavic studies did not materialize, so in 1949 Čyževs'kyj accepted an offer from Harvard to be visiting lecturer in that university's Slavic department. He remained at Harvard until 1956, teaching Slavic (including Ukrainian) subjects and associating with old colleagues, such as Roman Jakobson, Archpriest George Florovsky (b. 1893), and Alexander Gershenkron, and new ones, such as Horace G. Lunt, Wiktor Weintraub, and George Y. Shevelov.

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj was much too rooted in the German scholarly tradition, however, to adapt readily to the American milieu. In 1956 he returned to Germany to accept the Slavic chair at the University of Heidelberg, his first German alma mater. Six years later, in 1962, he was elected fellow of the Heidelberg Academy of Arts and Sciences and, some time later, fellow of the Croatian Academy in Zagreb.

It was Čyževs'kyj's tragic fate never to hold a position which carried financial security. Between 1938 and 1941, his candidacy was seriously considered by the universities of Brno, Vienna and Bratislava, but his political status foreclosed such opportunities. In 1939 Columbia University invited him to become a visiting professor, but

9 After 1945, Čyževs'kyj renewed his association with Ukrainian scholarly and educational institutions in the diaspora, some of which had been transferred from Prague to Munich and others of which were created in Munich-Augsburg. He again became professor of philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University (1945-1949 and 1956-1963), and was appointed professor of philosophy and logic at the Pedagogical Academy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (1946-1949). In 1945 Čyževs'kyj became a founding member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Augsburg.

the war intervened. After 1945, Čyževs'kyj was again the top candidate for chairs of Slavic studies at several German universities. Through misunderstandings and happenstance, however, he missed his chance at all of them, including the Marburg Chair of Slavistics.[10]

Unfortunately, at the time he joined the Heidelberg faculty (1956) Čyževs'kyj had already passed the age of 60, which precluded his appointment as full professor. His status remained that of a visiting professor, not entitled to retirement pay. As a result, after his retirement in 1964 until his death, financial need required Čyževs'kyj to accept temporary, part-time teaching appointments at the universities of Cologne (from 1968) and Heidelberg, as well as editorial obligations with the Wilhelm Fink Verlag of Munich.[11]

II

In responding to the toast of his friend, Fedor Stepun, at the celebration of his seventieth birthday, Dmytro Čyževs'kyj observed: "When, on 13 May 1921, I first arrived in Heidelberg, I compiled a list of projects for my future work. Since then, nearly each project on the list has appeared in print, with one exception: a work on Schiller in Russia, of which I could publish only fragments ... the reason for this is the lack of the necessary sources in European libraries" (*Orbis Scriptus*, p. 25). This personal statement reveals Čyževs'kyj to be what he was—a tireless scholar who worked according to a precise schedule and maintained exacting discipline. Indeed, one would expect no less from the trained logician he had become.

In his lifetime, Čyževs'kyj's colleagues often marveled over the unusual breadth of his interests and the encyclopaedic character of his scholarship. The obituary of Čyževs'kyj by John Fizer went so far as to characterize him as a "renaissance man in a non-renaissance

[10] These circumstances did not, however, prevent Čyževs'kyj from attending scores of international and national (German, Czech, Polish, American) conferences of philosophers, Slavicists, linguists and church historians, where he usually presented stimulating papers and took active part in discussions.

[11] From 1957 Čyževs'kyj was editor-in-chief or co-editor of several series in Slavic studies: Musagetes Contributions to the History of Slavic Literatures and Culture (The Hague, Mouton); Apophoreta Slavica (The Hague, Mouton); Heidelberger Slavische Texte (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz); Slavistische Studienbücher (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz); Slavische Propyläen: Texte in Neu- und Nachdrucken (Munich, Fink); Forum Slavicum (Munich, Fink).

age."[12] Yet, one can question such a view, especially if one examines the underlying structure of Čyževs'kyj's work.

As a young man, Čyževs'kyj's major aim was to understand the contemporary intellectual milieu in his own state, the Russian Empire, and among his own people, the Ukrainians. The milieu reflected the secular thought which began to penetrate Eastern Europe in the sixteenth to eighteenth century, but took root only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the establishment of Western-type universities in the empire. Study of this secular civilization required knowledge of the material world (astronomy and other sciences) as well as of theoretical concepts (philosophy and theology), instruments of thought (logic and language), and the intellectual production of Western Europe, beginning with the Renaissance.

Čyževs'kyj devoted his first scholarly efforts to astronomy and mathematics (1912-1914) and then turned to philosophy, especially Greek and German transcendental idealism, and philology. From his early student years Čyževs'kyj was an exceptionaly gifted bibliophile and bibliographer. Although he wrote several studies in theoretical fields such as logic, ethics, philosophy of language, philosophy of history and psychology of language—which led his teacher, V. Zin'-kivs'kyj, to "sense" a system in these writings—Čyževs'kyj did not believe it necessary to develop his own philosophical system. For he considered the study of philosophy to be merely a prelude to his real area of endeavor, the *Geistesgeschichte* of Eastern Europe.

In Čyževs'kyj's view, the intellectual make-up of the Ukraine and the Russian Empire had two basic roots, both German in origin: the German transcendental (idealistic) philosophy of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, and the German mysticism and pietism of the sixteenth to eighteenth century. French rationalism and the Enlightenment, especially Cartesianism as represented by Nicholas de Malebranche (1638-1715), played only a secondary role. Therefore, in 1921, when Čyževs'kyj had the opportunity to go to Paris (France was then the haven of émigrés from Imperial Russia, and the home of his mother-in-law), he opted instead for Germany, the source of his country's intellectual roots.

These roots, German idealistic philosophy and German Romanticism, were typified by their respective exponents, figures who greatly

[12] *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 13 (1977): 370.

influenced intellectual thought in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They were the poet, dramatist and thinker Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), and the founder of the phenomenology of mind George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). The work of Hegel and, to a lesser degree, Schiller was to occupy Čyževs'kyj throughout his scholarly career. The philosophy of Schiller, as we already know, was the topic of his first candidate's dissertation, and that of Hegel, of his other two academic dissertations—habilitation and Dr. Phil. The revision of the latter, published under the title *Hegel in Russland/Gegel v Rossii* [Hegel in Russia], became the *magnum opus* of Čyževs'kyj's scholarly production.

During Čyževs'kyj's *Lehrjahre* the most attractive philosophical theory in Germany was the phenomenology of Husserl. Čyževs'kyj had become interested in the theory while still a student in Kiev. However, after going to Freiburg, he chose as his academic adviser not Husserl, but Richard Kroner, an authority on German idealistic philosophy, particularly the theories of Hegel.

Another major immediate claimant to the Kantian succession was Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775-1854), whose *Naturphilosophie* enjoyed great popularity in the Russian Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the Ukraine, at the University of Xarkiv. Several studies by Čyževs'kyj dealt specifically with Schelling's influence. Moreover, the influence of German Romanticism on Puškin, Tjutčev, Gogol' and Dostoevskij were time and again the subjects of his studies and notes (*Lesefrüchte*), which appeared periodically in the *ZfslPh.*

Prior to the nineteenth century, the only great figure in East European philosophy was a Ukrainian, Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722-1794), whose philosophical system was disguised as literature. Skovoroda's writings, composed in the Baroque style, were permeated with the ideas of German mysticism and pietism. These same ideas were the major source of German idealistic philosophy.

German Protestant mysticism was the first form of mysticism known to Ukrainians and Russians. Čyževs'kyj discovered that Skovoroda was familiar with the work of the German mystic poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Valentin Weigel (1533-1588), Johann Arndt (1555-1621), Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) and Angelus Silesius (1624-1677), as well as with that of the German pietists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714) and Friedrich Oetinger (1702-1782). Two

factors accounted for the appeal of German mysticism to the Orthodox of Eastern Europe. First, it was, at least externally, Protestant, not Catholic, in character. Secondly, and what is of greater importance here, it retained the presecular character of its sources: on the one hand, German medieval Catholic mysticism, as represented by Meister Eckhart (c. 1260-1328), Johann Tauler (c. 1300-1328) and Heinrich Seuse (c. 1296-1366); and, on the other, neoplatonism.

Whereas German mysticism reached Muscovy through the Ukrainian literature of Skovoroda, German pietism found its way to both the Ukraine and Muscovy independently. The pietists began journeying to Moscow in the mid-seventeenth century. Although such visits often ended tragically (e.g., Quirinus Kuhlmann [b. 1651] was killed in Moscow in 1689), the pietists nevertheless succeeded in establishing the first intellectual contacts between Muscovy and the West. The pietist educator August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) made his "rugged school" in Halle the center of pietist activities for the Slavic countries. Fortunately, the school, officially called "die Frankesche Stiftungen," maintained extensive archives and a rich library.

When, in 1931-1932, he had the option to be a lecturer at either Bonn or Halle, Čyževs'kyj opted for Halle because he wanted to do research in the pietists' archives. There his systematic work was rewarded with the greatest discovery of his life: in 1935 he happened upon the manuscript, lost one hundred and fifty years earlier, of the major opus of the Czech educational reformer, theologian and poet Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius, 1592-1670), who had stayed in Halle during his wanderings in religious exile. Called *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (in abbreviation referred to as *Panaugia*) the work comprised three huge volumes. Together they present a compendium of philosophy which argues for the establishment of central places of learning devoted to all fields of knowledge.

In 1926, Čyževs'kyj's original plan—to study Ukrainian and Russian philosophy and *Geistesgeschichte*—was enlarged to encompass the history of philosophy among all other Slavic peoples, particularly the Czechs, Slovaks, and Croats.

Study of the sources of German idealism, analysis of the work of Skovoroda, and investigation of the work of Comenius tied Čyževs'kyj to the literary Baroque. His stay in Prague, especially the continuous creative dialogue on the theory of literature and on the stylistic and

linguistic analysis of literature among members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, prompted Čyževs'kyj to shift his work from philosophical analysis to literary criticism. The shift gave birth to his concept of Slavic comparative literature.

In 1952, as a visiting lecturer at Harvard, Čyževs'kyj formulated the principal tasks of comparative literary history as follows: "(a) To show the course of development, that is, the changes of literary style and in the content of literary works which occur from time to time; along with this, to divide literary history into the separate divisions, epochs, periods, that relate to it; these have a relatively uniform character and can be set off through common traits. (b) To characterize the intellectual history and the style, linguistic as well as literary, of these epochs: that is, to indicate the traits which are common to all the works and writers of the given period; these, if they are not all-inclusive, will be at least typical or representative of the epoch."[13]

Contrary to Roman Jakobson, Čyževs'kyj was very sceptical about the role of folklore, both in the literary development of the given pre-Romantic Slavic literature and as the common repository of a supposed "common-Slavic" pre-literary tradition. Actually, Čyževs'kyj had made a startling discovery which reinforced his scepticism: although parallel texts in the Slavic languages show that 75 to 80 percent of their lexical units have the same etymological roots, less than 20 percent of such common roots have the same meaning in all these languages. The result is that the lexical units which show the greatest degree of correspondence are not derivatives, but loanwords.

Although Čyževs'kyj became a leading scholar of literary history, he did not develop any particular theory for that scholarly discipline. To him, literature was just a province of *Geistesgeschichte*. In general, Čyževs'kyj's views coincided with the theories of the formalist school of German literature, as developed by Karl Vossler (1872-1949) in Munich, Oscar Walzel (1864-1944) in Bonn, and Fritz Strich (1882-1963) in Zurich. These maintained that the work of literature is primarily a work of art; hence, styles of literature must correspond to styles of art. As a literary historian, then, Čyževs'kyj concentrated on the stylistic analysis of individual works and writers, which resulted in his normative approach to literature. For him, this conceptualiza-

[13] Dmitry Čiževsky, *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures* (Boston, 1952), p. 3.

tion explained the unity of not only Slavic literary history, but of literary development throughout Europe. Čyževs'kyj also believed that the literary historian's duty was to examine how philosophical currents influence literary works and find expression in them, and to do formal analysis of literary work, especially lexicology, in order to study poetic language and formal devices (*tropoi*).

Almost from its inception, the study of Slavic philosophy was paired with the study of church history, especially of the spiritual currents in the Orthodox Church and of the relations between Eastern and Western Christianity. Čyževs'kyj believed that his own contribution to that field became dated after the appearance of Archpriest G. Florovsky's *Puti russkogo bogoslovija* (Paris, 1931).

In his literary analyses, Čyževs'kyj paid special attention to lexicology. From theoretical questions he went on to treat specific problems, such as Slavic terminology in philosophy and mysticism. Other topics of interest to him were the coining of new ideological terms, the enrichment of vocabulary through semantic transformations, and, following the ideas of Mukařovský, the poetic language of a given epoch and of specific poets.

Lexicological research led Čyževs'kyj to study linguistic theory, especially the dialectics of language (phonology and psychology), and structural questions, such as aspect, the case system, and the like. In this fashion he came full-circle to his scholarly starting point, that is, to the study of theoretical philosophy.

III

Čyževs'kyj worked quickly and produced constantly. Five personal characteristics contributed to his success as an author and scholar: first, unusual memory (he often complained of an inability to forget the numbers of streetcar tickets); second, excellent knowledge of the cultural development and literary monuments of both Eastern and Western Europe (he had a special interest in bibliography and old prints); third, the capacity to orient himself immediately upon entering a library for the first time; fourth, an incredible capacity for work; and fifth, the keeping of a logically organized and continuously expanding filing system. Normally he slept only four or five hours a day. His pockets always bulged with blank cards, which he was apt to fill with notes on all occasions, even when talking to a visitor. There were, however, three kinds of circumstances in which the

totally devoted and no-nonsense scholar displayed warm friendship and a brilliant sense of humor: while preparing some exotic culinary dish; when browsing through local bookshops accompanied by colleagues or students; and, especially, over food and drink at the evening gatherings which took place religiously after the weekly meetings of his seminar in the tradition of German university Gemütlichkeit.

Although he was an intellectual and a philosopher, Čyževs'kyj, like Gogol', seriously believed in the devil, whom he once recognized in the person of a cab-driver. He also had a special affection for cats, both domesticated and homeless, liking to "converse" with them at length and to remark that they were better companions than humans were. Such were the brilliant man's idiosyncracies.

* * *

The three bibliographies of Čyževs'kyj's work which have been published contain his scholarly production for the years 1912-1965.[14] A bibliography of publications for the years 1965-1977 and of unpublished manuscripts has yet to be compiled. The projected total is impressive, including no less than a thousand items.

Structurally, Čyževs'kyj's work can be divided into five groups: monographs, reviews, *Lesefrüchte*, textbooks, and introductions and epilogues. From the scholarly viewpoint, Čyževs'kyj's most important contributions were his monographs, which appeared as books or lengthy articles in scholarly journals and collections. These always encompassed new theoretical findings and a wealth of new information. Deserving of special mention were his reviews, which were unvariably to the point, although often merciless.

Whenever he came across something of interest, Čyževs'kyj hastened to publicize his finding immediately, without any interposition, although he was always ready to make addenda and corrigenda. An ideal medium for such speedy publication was his famous *Literarische Lesefrüchte*, of which there were three series: two were published in *ZfslPh* (1931-1955; nos. 1-105, and nos. 1-36) and the third in *Die*

[14] *A Bibliography of the Publications of Dr. Dmitry Čiževsky in the Fields of Literature, Language, Philosophy and Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952); D. Gerhardt, "Schriftenverzeichnis von D. I. Čyževs'kyj (1912-1954)," in *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževs'kyj zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 1-34; Hans-Jürgen zum Winkel, "Schriftenverzeichnis von D. I. Tschižewskij (1954-1965)," in *Orbis Scriptus* (Munich, 1966), pp. 35-48.

Welt der Slaven (from 1968). When a fellow researcher, André Mazon of Paris, accused him of merely publishing his files, Čyževs'kyj replied that working in uncertain conditions had required him to pass along important data, however unrefined, to other scholars without delay.

Čyževs'kyj's textbooks and his introductions and epilogues to reprints and collections are of a mixed quality and nature. Some—e.g., those on philosophy in the Ukraine—are original and of pioneering value, whereas others were written simply for financial reasons. As Čyževs'kyj himself openly stated in the 1964 Festschrift, "that I published so much is hardly any merit. Rather, I was forced to do so, since my financial means was never secure" (*Orbis Scriptus*, p. 25). In the same Festschrift, Čyževs'kyj evaluated his contribution to scholarship in the following way: "When I look back upon my accomplishments, I believe that my works will retain interest longest among the Czechs: first, the discovery of the Comenius Manuscripts, then the studies on the Church Slavonic literature produced on Czech soil, perhaps the interpretation of Middle Czech songs, and my work on Czech Baroque literature. My Ukrainian countrymen, with a few exceptions, have no understanding for my work, so that I felt myself forced during the past year to resign from several Ukrainian cultural organizations. As far as my studies on Russian and Slovakian poets and thinkers are concerned, they are, because far removed from Marxian ideology, ignored, at best, in both countries" (*Orbis Scriptus*, p. 26).

IV

Although Čyževs'kyj had reason to question the willingness and capacity of his Ukrainian countrymen to appreciate his work, he will undoubtedly be remembered as one of the greatest Ukrainian scholars. In two fields of vital importance to Ukrainian scholarship—the intellectual history of the Russian Empire, and the area for which he himself coined the name "Slavo-Germanica"—Čyževs'kyj holds a place second to no one. The contributions of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj to Ukrainian studies were manifold and innovative. This is true of his books on general topics, such as *Fil'osofija na Ukrajini* (Prague 1929), *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajini* (Prague, 1931), and *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury vid počatkiv do doby realizmu* (New York,

1956);[15] and on specialized ones such as *Filosofija H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw, 1934),[16] and *Ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj barok: Narysy*, 3 volumes (Prague, 1941-1944).

There is hardly a field in Ukrainian intellectual or cultural history to which Čyževs'kyj did not contribute an essential article or note. The number and variety of his topics were remarkable. They included the character of the Ukrainian people, the elements of Ukrainian culture, the literary and cultural problems of Kievan Rus' (texts such as *Pověst' vremennyx lět*, *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1076*, the *Igor' Tale*, the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, the *Sermons of Cyril of Turov*, the *Patericon* of the Caves Monastery, and topics such as Plato in Old Rus', mysticism in Old Rus', the stylistic devices of literary monuments, etc.), Ivan Vyšens'kyj, Socinianism in the Ukraine, Ukrainian physicians in the eighteenth century, Old Ukrainian prints, the poetics of T. Ševčenko, Ukrainian rhyme patterns, M. Hruševs'kyj as literary historian, the philosophies of P. Jurkevyč and V. Vernads'kyj. Standing above all these are his numerous monographs and studies dealing with Gogol'; surely, of all such studies, the most penetrating are those by Dmytro Čyževs'kyj.

Although his junior by eighty-five years, Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, like Gogol', was a product of the Ukrainian genius which first appeared during the Cossack Baroque and then reappeared, essentially unchanged, among the Ukrainian gentry, the so-called *Malorossijskoe dvorjanstvo*, during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Both Gogol' and Čyževs'kyj were men of tragic conflicts and paradoxes, "longing for movement, for change, for wandering, for adventure, for a tragic tension, indeed for catastrophe, for delight in clever combinations and unstable equilibrium ... [seeking] to excite man, thus to disquiet him, to shock him."[17]

Čyževs'kyj's merciless and devastating analysis of the philosophical work and literary criticism of Vissarion Belinskij (1811-1848) was nothing less than a "terrible vengeance" in the Gogolian style. In his *Gegel' v Rossii*—a book published in Russian, by Russians, and for the edification of Russians—Čyževs'kyj stripped the idol of the Russian intelligentsia of his glory. Step by step, he documented

[15] An English translation has appeared under the editorship of George S. N. Luckyj: *A History of Ukrainian Literature* (Littleton, Colorado, 1976).

[16] Its last edition was published in German as volume 17 of the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies (Munich, 1973).

[17] Čiževsky, *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literature*, p. 58.

Belinskij's dependence on incomplete and inaccurate secondhand information. This was, to Čyževs'kyj, just retribution for Belinskij's scorn for the Ukrainian language and literature—that literary critic had once even urged Taras Ševčenko to better himself by writing in Russian.

In Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, contrary to Gogol', the Ukrainian soul emerged victorious, despite his Baroque grotesque. Nonetheless, instances of a Baroque, antithetic worldview were plentiful in his life. He was one of the few people to work before 1917 for a clear-cut division in Ukrainian versus Russian cultural relations, and he was also a social-democrat; yet, on 12 January 1918, as a descendent of the Imperial gentry, he voted against Ukrainian political independence. In Germany he became a typically systematic scholar who felt comfortable only in that country; yet he would not accept German citizenship, preferring to remain stateless after the loss of his Imperial citizenship, even at the risk of losing a retirement pension. Soon after leaving the Ukraine he separated from his wife; yet he would not divorce her, even though under the Hitler regime this relationship blocked his university career. Čyževs'kyj was a great formalist and aesthete; yet he was fascinated by the works of totally inept graphomaniacs, which he not only collected but exchanged with other "collectors" of the genre, such as Oswald Burghardt [Jurij Klen] (1891-1947).

His final changing of the German transcription of his surname, to "Tschiżewskij," exemplifies the Baroque style in its calculation to be unexpected and paradoxical. In it the phonem /č/ is rendered as *tsch*, following the German orthography, but the second affricate, /ž/, is written according to the international Slavic transcription. For the vowel /y/ Čyževs'kyj used the sign *i*, although the /y/:/i/ opposition is a typical differential between Ukrainian and Russian. Instead of placing *v* (or, for that matter, *f*) in postvocalic position (as one would expect in a Russian sound pattern) he opted for the (Middle and Modern) Ukrainian *w*. In this fashion he created a form of his surname which he believed to be early middle Ukrainian, just to irritate both his Ukrainian and Russian non-Baroque-minded contemporaries.

Omeljan Pritsak
Ihor Ševčenko
Harvard University

ADDENDUM

Professor Tatjana Čiževska, daughter of the late Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, has kindly provided us with the following autobiographical material by her father. The undated text was evidently written in the fall of 1945, shortly after Čyževs'kyj arrived in Marburg to seek a university position. The author's statement on his scholarly achievement up to that time is rich in detail, containing data which supplement our knowledge of the great scholar and provide a comment on his times. It is published here without change.

The Editors

[I] Lebenslauf

Ich, Dmitrij Tschiżewskij, bin als Sohn eines Edelmanns, Ivan Tsch. und seiner Ehefrau Maria, geb. Erschow, am 23/III. 1894 in Alexandria (Ukraine) geboren. Ich absolvierte das klassische Gymnasium in meiner Vaterstadt 1911 und studierte an der Univ. St. Petersburg 1911-13 Mathematik und Astronomie (auf diesem Gebiet habe ich einige Arbeiten veröffentlicht), dann an der Universität Kiev 1913-19 Philosophie und russische Philologie. Im Herbst 1919 habe ich die abschliessende Staatsprüfung abgelegt und das Diplom "ersten Grades" erhalten; meine Kandidatenarbeit (die ungefähr der deutschen Doktordissertation entspricht) behandelte die philosophische Entwicklung Schillers (ein Teil dieser Arbeit ist deutsch erschienen). 1920 wurde ich zum Dozenten der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft an der Frauenhochschule Żekulins in Kiev gewählt, 1921 — zum Dozenten der Philosophie an dem „Pädagogischen Institut" in Kiev, zu welchem die frühere Universität umgewandelt wurde. Ich habe allerdings meine Vorlesungen an diesen beiden Schulen nicht aufgenommen, sondern wanderte 1921 nach Deutschland aus, wo ich zunächtst in Heidelberg (SS. 1921-WS. 1921-2) und Freiburg i.Br. (SS. 1922-WS. 1923-4) Philosophie studiert habe. Meine Lehrer in Deutschland waren: Prof. Husserl, Jaspers, Rickert, R. Kroner, J. Ebbinghaus, J. Cohn, M. Heidegger. Das deutsche Doktorat habe ich nachträglich 1933 in Halle a.d.S. gemacht, meine Doktordissertation behandelte „Hegel in Russland," Ergebnis der Prüfung war „summa cum laude." Im SS. 1924 wurde ich Lektor, 1925 Dozent, 1926 — Prof. der Philosophie an dem Ukrainischen Pädagogischen Institut in Prag, 1929 habe ich mich an der Ukr. Universität in Prag mit einer Arbeit über „Hegel und die französische Revolution" habilitiert, wurde an dieser Hochschule 1932 ao. Prof. 1931 wurde ich gleichzeitig zum Lektor der Slavistik an den Universitäten Bonn und Halle vorgeschlagen, kam im SS. 1932 nach Halle, wo ich seitdem tätig war. 1935-8 habe ich ausserdem aushilfsweise slavische Sprachen an der Univ. Jena gelesen. — Meiner beabsichtigten Habilitation und meinem weiteren Fortkommen stand damals die jüdische Abstammung meiner Frau im Wege. So blieb es auch ohne Ergebnis, dass ich 1939 von der Phil. Fakultät der Univ. Wien als Kandidat auf den Lehrstuhl der Slavistik aufgestellt wurde. Ebenso, dass ich 1942 von der Philos. Fakultät der Univ. Pressburg (Slovakei)

auf den Lehrstuhl der Philosophie gewählt wurde. Auch die Verhandlungen mit der Columbia University in New York wegen Übernahme einer Gastprofessur 1939 kamen wegen dem Kriegsausbruch nicht zum Abschluss.

Ich konnte jedoch in Halle mit Erlaubnis der Fakultät neben meinen Sprachkursen (ausser Russisch habe ich auch Ukrainisch, aber auch Tschechisch, Slovakisch und Polnisch für Anfänger vorgetragen) Vorlesungen über mehrere Gebiete der Slavistik halten (neben der Einführung in das Studium der slavischen Sprachen, las ich auch das Kirchenslavische, die vergleichende Grammatik der slav. Sprachen, die russische, tschechische und ukrainische Literaturgeschichte, sowie die allgemeine slav. Literaturgeschichte, ebenso Vorlesungen über einzelne Perioden und Dichter, russische und polnische Kulturgeschichte, ostslavische Volkskunde, russische Geistes- und Philosophiegeschichte, Vorlesungen über die slavische Mystik, über die Geschichte des Protestantismus bei den Slaven, über die Geschichte der russ. Theologie usf.), Seminarübungen abhalten (im Seminar behandelte ich unt. and. die altrussischen Chroniken, die altrussischen Heiligenlegenden, die tschechische und polnische Dichtung des Mittelalters, der Renaissance, der Barockzeit und der Romantik, sowie die Dichter der Gegenwart) und Doktordissertationen annehmen, die ich z.T. als erster, z.T. als zweiter Rezensent begutachten durfte. Im Laufe der Zeit sind in Halle 6 slavistische Doktordissertationen entstanden, von welchen 4 im Druck erschienen sind (3 in Buchform). Ausserdem haben mehrere Schüler von mir etwa 20 wissenschaftliche Arbeiten veröffentlicht, die meist in der „Zeitschrift f. slav. Philologie" und „Kyrios" erschienen sind und die fast ausschliesslich in meinem Seminar entstanden sind.

Ich habe selbst 1921-45 450 wissenschaftl. Arbeiten und Besprechungen veröffentlicht, von denen die wichtigsten die beiliegende Liste aufzählt. Drei Bücher und mehrere kleinere Arbeiten wurden während der Besatzungszeit von der deutschen Zensur in Prag nicht zum Druck zugelassen und werden z.T. dort jetzt erscheinen können.

[II] Ergänzung zu *A. Personenbeschreibung — Promotion, Habilitation, Ausbildung*

Ich studierte an dem klassischen Gymnasium in Alexandria (Russland), dann an der Univ. St. Petersburg (1911-13) Mathematik und Astronomie, zum Teil auch Philosophie, dann an der Univ. Kiev (1913-17) Philosophie und russische Philologie, ebenfalls Indogermanistik und slav. Philologie. 1919 habe ich die russ. Staatsprüfung abgelegt, die ungefähr dem deutschen Doktorat entspricht (Fächer : Philosophie und russ. Philologie). 1920 wurde ich zum Dozenten der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft an einer Frauenhochschule in Kiev (Hochschule von A. Žekulina), 1921 zum Dozenten der Philosophie an dem Pädagogischen Institut in Kiev (in welches die frühere Universität umgewandelt wurde). 1921 reiste ich ins Ausland und studierte Philosophie in Heidelberg (1921-2) und Freiburg i.Br. (1922-4). 1924 ging ich als Dozent der Philosophie nach Prag, an das Ukrainische Pädagogische Institut. In Prag habe ich mich 1929 an der Ukrainischen Universität für Philosophie habilitiert. 1932 ging ich als Lektor der Slavistik nach Halle und da es wünschenswert schien, ein deutsches Doktorat zu erwerben, habe ich 1933 (bei dem später

entlassenen „jüdischen" Professor A. Gelb) an der Univ. Halle promoviert (Dr. phil., Fächer : Philosophie, Indogermanistik und Kirchengeschichte).

Lebensbeschreibung

Ich bin in einer kleinen Stadt, Alexandria, in der Ukraine am 23.3.1894 als Sohn eines früheren Offiziers und Gutsbesitzers, der aber 1887 wegen seiner liberalen Gesinnung verhaftet wurde, 2 Jahre lang in der Festung gefangen gehalten wurde, dann nach Nordrussland verbannt wurde und später auf sein Gut ausgewiesen, und seiner Frau, die eine Künstlerin war, geboren. Die geistigen Interessen meiner Eltern haben von vorn herein meine eigene Einstellung bestimmt. Die Schule dagegen (1904-1911) hatte in meiner Entwicklung nur eine nebensächliche Bedeutung, höchstens nur insofern, inwiefern ich zum Organisator der (in Russland illegalen) Bildungsvereine unter meinen Schulkamaraden war, die sich meist mit Literaturgeschichte, später auch mit Politik befassten. Mein Vater konnte nach der ersten russischen Revolution 1905 politisch tätig sein (er gehörte der russ. liberalen Partei, den „Konstitutionalisten-Demokraten" an), was auch auf meine Interessen nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben ist : in meinen Studienjahren an der Universität fand ich Zeit neben meinen wissenschaftlichen Studien (ich habe schon seit 1912 wissenschaftliche Studien, zunächst auf dem Gebiete der Astronomie, veröffentlicht) Anschluss an die politische Studenten- und Arbeiter-Bewegung zu finden; ich war Sozialdemokrat und wurde schliesslich 1916 von der zaristischen Polizei verhaftet. Die Revolution 1917 hat mich befreit. Die ersten Monate der Revolution arbeitete ich sehr viel an den Arbeiterorganisationen in Kiev, kehrte aber 1918 und in den folgenden Jahren zu meiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit zurück, ohne die Verbindung mit der Arbeiterbewegung zu lösen. Die Politik der Kommunisten, die zu einer Diktatur der Partei über dem russischen Volk geführt hat, hat mich sehr enttäuscht und ich entschloss mich, meine Studien zunächst im Auslande fortzusetzen. Schon in Russland habe ich mich für die sog. „Phänomenologie" Husserls und seiner Schule besonders begeistert, so ging ich nach Deutschland, wo ich bald 1922 ein Schüler Husserls werden durfte. Meine Ausbildung schloss ich 1924 ab und begann meine Laufbahn als Dozent. Von den rein philosophiegeschichtlichen Studien wurde ich aber zu etwas weiteren „geistesgeschichtlichen" Themen getrieben und zwar dann, als ich mich mit der Philosophiegeschichte der slavischen Völker zu beschäftigen begann. Schon damals entschloss ich mich (etwa 1926) mein Leben einem Werk über die Geschichte der Philosophie auf dem slavischen Boden zu widmen, — dieser Plan wurde durch einen weiteren Plan einer vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte der slavischen Literaturen ergänzt. Meine gesamte wissenschaftliche Arbeit (1923-1945 über 100 Bücher und Aufsätze, abgesehen von 350 zum Teil grösseren Besprechungen) ist eine Verwirklichung dieser beiden Pläne.

Die wichtigste Rolle in meiner geistigen Entwicklung spielten neben dem Elternhause verschiedene Kreise der Freunde, die ich mir an verschiedenen wechselnden Stätten meiner Wirksamkeit geschaffen habe : zunächst waren das meine zu den Bildungsvereinen zusammengeschlossenen Schulkamaraden und Kamaradinnen, dann die Kollegen an der Univ. Kiev, die zum grossen Teil

auch meine politischen Ansichten teilten, später meine Dozenten an der Univ. Freiburg (von denen für mich persönlich neben Husserl einige weitere eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben) und eine kleinere Gruppe meiner Kameraden an dieser Universität, eine Gruppe, die bis jetzt besteht (keiner der Mitglieder dieser Gruppe ist Nationalsozialist geworden, vielmehr haben mehrere einen entschiedenen Kampf gegen den Nazismus seit seiner Entstehung geführt), später ein engerer Kreis russischer Philosophen in Prag und eine Gruppe tschechischer Sprachwissenschaftler in derselben Stadt, die als „Prager linguistischer Zirkel" in der Entwicklung der europäischen Wissenschaft eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat und noch spielt (vom Prager Zirkel abhängige Gruppen gibt es jetzt in Genf, Kopenhagen und anderswo, einer der leitenden Köpfe der Gruppe, mein Freund, Roman Jakobson, ist Prof. an der Columbia University in New York), in Halle waren das vor allem zwei kleinere Kreise, die ich geleitet habe,—ein philosophischer und ein slavistischer, und ein kleiner Kreis antifaschistischer Intellektueller, mit dem ich seit 1938 in enger Beziehung gestanden habe. Die Freundschaften der letzten Jahre haben mich zur Erkenntnis geführt, dass einer der wichtigsten Kulturfaktoren eine persönliche Verbindung der Menschen—vor allem über die Grenzen der in Europa so engen Nationen hinaus—ist. Die kulturellen Verbindungen der Völker halte ich für noch wichtiger als die politischen und meine Absicht ist es, der Pflege dieser internationalen kulturellen Beziehungen meine Kräfte in der Zukunft zu widmen, ganz egal, welche Lebensstellung ich einnehmen werde.

Damit ist meine persönliche Entwicklung bis jetzt abgeschlossen. Politisch war ich ausserhalb Russlands nicht mehr tätig, wenn ich einige Jahre auch noch weiter zur sozialdemokratischen (russischen, später deutschen) Organisation gehört habe (bis 1924). Dagegen trat ich seit 1926 in eine nähere Beziehung zur Kirche—und zwar nicht nur zu meiner eigenen griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche, sondern zu den beiden grossen Konfessionen des Westens, indem ich meine wissenschaftliche, schriftstellerische und pädagogische Arbeit zum Teil religiösen Fragen widmete. Zu den grossen Persönlichkeiten des kirchlichen Lebens gehören auch die „geschichtlichen Persönlichkeiten," die für mich die grössten Leuchten der Menschheit gewesen sind, wie manche russischen Heiligen, der hlg. Franziscus, der Bischof der tschechischen Kirche J. A. Comenius (17. Jht.) und andere.

Von den im Fragebogen angedeuteten Faktoren, spielten in meiner Entwicklung das Heer (ich habe nie gedient), die Zeitungen (obwohl ich selbst 1917-18 in Kiev an der Redigierung einer sozialdemokratischen Zeitung beteiligt war), Rundfunk und Kino keine Rolle. Dagegen bedeuteten für mich Theater und besonders Musik immer sehr viel, ohne dass ihre Einflüsse in meiner Lebensarbeit irgendwelche nennenswerte Rolle gespielt haben.

Zur Zeit erwarte ich eine Möglichkeit, meine Kräfte den Aufgaben zu widmen, die mir als meine persönlichen Aufgaben erscheinen—dem Abschluss meines wissenschaftlichen Lebenswerkes und dem Dienst der Annäherung er europäischen Völker untereinander.

Meine literarische Produktion ist schon deshalb recht unübersichtlich, da ich meine Arbeiten in acht verschiedenen Sprachen veröffentlicht habe (von den Büchern und Aufsätzen sind 88 deutsch geschrieben, darunter 4 grössere Bücher, 2 französisch, 22 russisch, 19 ukrainisch (russisch—1 Buch, ukr.—7),

15 tschechisch, 5 slovakisch, darunter 1 Buch, 1 kroatisch, 1 polnisch). Ausserdem muss ich zugeben, dass ich vielfach Arbeiten, die noch nicht ganz abgeschlossen waren, herausgebracht habe (der franz. Slavist Mazon hat mir in einer Besprechung vorgeworfen, dass ich den Leser mit dem Inhalt meiner Kartothek bekannt mache),—das erklärt sich allerdings aus den Bedingungen, in welchen ich gearbeitet und veröffentlicht habe: ich war in Prag in einer schlecht bezahlten Stellung, die immer aufgehoben werden konnte, in Halle bin ich nach den ersten 8 Monaten ins „dritte Reich" geraten, wo ich 11 Jahre lang meine Absetzung (wegen der „jüdischen Versippung") bzw. Verhaftung durch Gestapo erwartet habe. So *musste* ich die Arbeiten im Zustande herausbringen, der die Veröffentlichung zuliess; mein Schicksal in den letzten Wochen hat mir, wie es scheint, recht gegeben—der Verlust eines Teils meiner unveröffentlichten Arbeiten wäre viel schwerer, hätte ich nicht den grössten Teil meiner Arbeiten schon in „nicht ganz fertiger" Form herausgebracht. Ausserdem habe ich doch im Laufe der Jahre mehrere grössere Themen ganz abschliessend bearbeitet: Geschichte der ukr. Philosophie, Hegel in Russland, die philos. Ansichten des ukr. Mystikers Skovoroda, des slovakischen Hegelianers L'. Štúr, die Weltanschauung des tschechischen Romantikers K. I. Mácha, die ukr. Barockdichtung, die altrussische Literatur des 11-13 Jhts.

Die mannigfaltigen Arbeiten, die ich veröffentlicht habe, behandeln keine zufälligen Themen, vielmehr liegt fast allen ein gewisser Plan zugrunde. Ich will meine Hauptthemen hier nennen:

1. Mein erstes grosses Thema, an dessen Bearbeitung ich nach dem Abschluss meiner philosophischen Studien herangetreten bin, war *Geschichte der Philosophie bei den slav. Völkern* (als ein dreibändiges Werk für das Vasmer-Trautmannsche „Handbuch der slav. Philologie"). Völlig fertig ist die Geschichte der Phil. bei den Ostslaven (Russen und Ukrainer), weit fortgeschritten ist die Vorbereitung der Teile über die Tschechen und die Slovaken. Eine Reihe Speziellarbeiten sind z.T. veröffentlicht, z.T. druckfertig (ich nenne besonders Comenius; hier gelang mir seine philosophische Hauptschrift in der Handschrift auszufinden, die ich zum Druck vorbereitet habe, ausserdem etwa 10 unbekannte Schriften und Drucke von ihm), den ukr. Mystiker des 18. Jhts., Skovoroda, den Russen Strachov, Jurkevič, Dostojevskij (die alle der gleichen Zeit angehören und miteinander z.T. auch genetisch verbunden sind), den deutschen Idealismus in Russland, die Geschichte der ukr. Philosophie, einige Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie bei den Slovaken im 19. Jht.—das Buch über Štúr ist erschienen, eine grössere Arbeit über Kellner-Hostinský ist in Vorbereitung (hier habe ich auch den handschriftlichen Nachlass beider durchgearbeitet). Vorbereitet ist eine Arbeit über den Kroaten Bosković (18. Jht.).

2. In Verbindung mit dem ersten Thema steht das zweite, das ich im Laufe der Zeit ebenfalls bearbeitet habe—*die vergleichende slav. Literaturgeschichte*, die mich zunächst durch den philos. Gehalt der slavischen literarischen Werke herangezogen hat, nachher aber auch durch ihre dichterische Eigenschaften mich zur Bearbeitung der stilistischen, kunstwissenschaftlichen und literarischen Probleme geführt hat. Ein Gerüst der vergleichenden slav. Literaturgeschichte ist schon fertig (Vorlesungen darüber habe ich schon 2 Mal gehalten). Einzelne Teilthemen sind auch schon völlig fertig,—darunter: Geschichte der altruss.

Literatur (11.-13. Jht.). Ukr. Literaturgeschichte (16. Jht. - 1860), kirchenslavische Literatur auf dem tschechoslovakischen Boden (9.-11. Jht.), Literaturgeschichte des tschechischen Mittelalters, tschechische Barockliteratur, einzelne Dichter: Russen — Puškin, Gogol', Tjutčev, Dostojevskij, Leskov, Andrej Belyj, Majakovskij, Tschechen — Bridel, Comenius (17. Jht.), Mácha (19. Jht.), K. Čapek (20. Jht.), Barock in den slavischen Literaturen ist mit Benutzung der handschriftlichen Materialien und mehreren von mir aufgefundenen (tschechischen) unbekannten Drucke bearbeitet, vorbereitet ist eine Arbeit über die slavischen Dichter als Zeichner und Maler.

Die beiden Themen bilden eine wesentliche Einheit, indem die Gesamtheit der sie behandelnden Arbeiten einen Überblick über mehrere wesentliche Gebiete der slavischen Geistesgeschichte bieten wird. Damit sind auch die methodologischen Eigentümlichkeiten meiner Arbeit verbunden, — in den die Geschichte der Philosophie betreffenden Arbeiten behandele ich neben den Fachphilosophen auch Dichter, Politiker und Theologen, in den literaturgeschichtlichen sind die ideologischen Motive (neben den wichtigen aesthetischen, denn ich habe sehr viel bei den russischen „Formalisten" und der „Prager Schule" der „strukturellen Linguistik" gelernt) besonders eingehend behandelt.

3. Aus der Beschäftigung mit diesen beiden Fragenkomplexen ist im Laufe der Zeit eine Grupe meiner Arbeiten ermporgewachsen, die ich als „*germanoslavische*" bezeichnen kann. Es handelt sich um die deutschen Einflüsse im slavischen Geistesleben. Leider musste ich die Veröffentlichung der Arbeiten zu den germanoslavischen Fragen im „dritten Reiche" einstellen, da der deutsche Einfluss als Begründung der *politischen* Ansprüche des Hitler-Deutschland galt.

Germanoslavica unter meiner Arbeiten betreffen u.a. — die deutsche Mystik bei den Slaven (u.a. Skovoroda, Comenius), den Pietismus bei den Slaven (hier habe ich zahlreiche handschriftliche Quellen im Archiv des Franckeschen Waisenhauses entdeckt und bearbeitet, die die Verbindung des Franckeschen Kreises mit den Ostslaven, Tschechen, Polen, Slovenen, Wenden beleuchten), die deutsche Romantik bei den Slaven (Arbeiten über Puškin, Tjutčev, Gogol', Hoffmann und Dostojevskij — in Vorbereitung). Zusammenfassend habe ich den Einfluss Hegels in Russland behandelt, die zweite Ausgabe der einschlägigen Arbeit (neue russische Bearbeitung), behandelt neben dem Einfluss Hegels auch die Einflüsse des deutschen Idealismus überhaupt, in Vorbereitung befinden sich weitere Arbeiten über die deutsche Philosophie bei den Slovaken (an Hand des handschriftlichen Materials, als Buch ist die Arbeit über die Philosophie L'. Štúrs erschienen).

4. In Verbindung mit der Geistesgeschichte stehen nur z.T. veröffentlichte Arbeiten über die slavische *Lexik*: zunächst handelt es sich um die philosophische und mystische Terminologie (Skovoroda), dann um den weltanschaulichen Wortschatz und seine Bereicherung durch eine neue Sinngebung der alten Wörter. Ich behandelte kurz manche Fragen der altrussischen Lexik (das Igorlied), die Komposita in der russ. Literatursprache, die Ukrainismen Gogol's, die romantische Sprache (Puškin, Lermontov, Tjutčev), die philosophische Terminologie der russ. Hegelschen Schule, die neue Sinngebung der alten Worte (Puškin), die theoretischen Probleme der Lexik (an den Beispielen Leskovs und And. Belyjs — unveröffentlicht). Gesondert steht eine Arbeit über die deutsche phil. Terminologie („Übermensch," „übermenschlich").

5. In Verbindung mit der Mitarbeit an der Prager sprachwissenschaftlichen Schule stehen einige Arbeiten, die sich mir der *Philosophie der Sprache* befassen. Es handelt sich hier um die Begründung der Phonologie („Phonologie und Psychologie"), um einige Referate im Prager linguistischen Zirkel und um eine mit Roman Jakobson, einem der Begründer und Leiter der Prager Schule, vorbereitete Arbeit über „Dialektik der Sprache."

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmete ich dem slav. Zeitwort (in Vorbereitung eine Arbeit über die Aktionsarten), der Deklination (im Druck in „Acta linguistica" eine Arbeit über das ukr. Kasus-System). Aus der Arbeit an der Theorie der Uebersetzung ist u.a. eine Hallische Dr. Dissertation über A. Mejs Uebersetzungen entstanden. Von Mukařovský sind meine Arbeiten über die dichterische Sprache beeinflusst (Alliterationen in der Nestorchronik, die dichterische Sprache Skovorodas, die Entwicklung des ukr. Reimes bei Skovoroda, in der ukr. Barockdichtung und bei Ševčenko).

6. Reiner *Philosophie* sind wenige Arbeiten von mir gewidmet, neben einer Vorlesung über Logik, handelt es sich um die Geschichte der Philosophie (Hegel und seine Schule, Hegel und Nietzsche, romantische Philosophie—„Nachtproblem in der Romantik"—meine Arbeiten über Tjutčev und eine Dissertation meines Schülers, St. Grzonka über das Nachtproblem in der polnischen Romantik), weit fortgeschritten ist ein Buch über den Formalismus in der Ethik, als Vorstudien zu welchem auch einige meiner Dostojevskij-Aufsätze zu betrachten sind.

7. Einzelne Arbeiten und zahlreiche Besprechungen betreffen auch *Kirchengeschichte*: die deutsche Mystik, Protestantismus bei den Slaven (Vorlesung), Geschichte der russischen Theologie (Vorlesung, die Veröffentlichungen meiner Arbeiten sind nach dem Erscheinen des betreffenden Buches von Florovskij entbehrlich geworden), die russ. Heiligenlegenden (Vorlesung), einzelne Beiträge zur russ. und deutschen Kirchengeschichte, vielfach an hand der Handschriften (manche Arbeiten betreffen die Hallische Lokalgeschichte).

8. Die *slavische Kulturgeschichte* war zum Teil Gegenstand meiner Beschäftigung: eine Vorlesung über die polnische Kulturgeschichte habe ich wiederholt gehalten, zur ukr. Kulturgeschichte habe ich umfangreichen Stoff gesammelt.

Ohne die Bedeutung meiner Arbeiten zu überschätzen, muss ich feststellen, dass es mir gelungen ist auf verschiedenen Gebieten manches Neues zu sagen, was im Einzelnen von der Kritik und Forschung anerkannt ist (z.B. von den Tschechen haben meine einzelne Einsichten die „Formalisten" — Mukařovský und Vilikovský, die Katholiken—Vašica, Kalista, Králik, die Positivisten—Hendrich—angenommen).* Daneben muss ich meine Berichterstattung her-

* Z.B. Entdeckung der Quellen—etwa der altukr. Kirchenlieder, der Epigrammen der ukr. Dichters des XVII. Jhts. Velyčkovs'kyj (J. Owen), die Beziehungen zwischen der Romantik und Tjutčev, der Einfluss Schillers auf Dostojevskij (eine diesbezügliche Arbeit des sovjet-russ. Forschers Glebov ist nur ein Plagiat aus meinem Aufsatz), der Einfluss der Mystik auf Skovoroda, die Quelle der Legende des hlg. Isaakij in der Legende von Valens, die Quelle der philosophischen Ansichten Dostojevskijs in den Schriften N. N. Strachovs, die Quellen des Labyrinths der Welt des Comenius; ich hoffe, dass die Veröffentlichung der von mir aufgefundenen Comenius-Handschriften weitere konkrete Entdeckungen bringen wird, usf.

vorheben, z.B. über die neueste tschechische Forschung, über die Sovjet-Russ. Literaturgeschichte, — diese Berichterstattung (Berichte und Besprechungen) zeichnet sich — was von vielen Seiten anerkannt wurde — durch eine gewisse Objektivität und bringt nach meinem besten Wissen gewisse Bereicherung des Stoffes, von dem ich zu berichten habe. Ich muss auch betonen, dass ich schon einige Schüler ausgebildet habe, die eine selbständige Stelle in der Slavistik durch ihre zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen sich erwerben konnten, so besonders Dr. D. Gerhardt und Dr. A. Mietzschke.

[III] Antwort auf die Frage

B.3. Welche Gebiete Ihres Faches haben Sie seit 1930 gelesen:

Einführung in die slavische Philologie, vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen, Sprachkurse in Russisch, Ukrainisch, Polnisch, Tschechisch, Slovakisch, Russische, Ukrainische und Tschechische Literaturgeschichte, Polnische Kulturgeschichte, Protestantismus bei den Slaven; im Seminar dieselben Gebiete behandelt.

B.4. Beschreiben Sie Ihre akademische, bzw. amtliche Laufbahn seit 1930:

Bis April 1932 habe ich an dem Ukrainischen Pädagogischen Institut in Prag und an der Ukr. Universität dortselbst Vorlesungen aus dem Gebiete der Philosophie abgehalten (als Prof. der Philosophie). Ende 1931 wurde ich gleichzeitig zum Lektor der slav. Sprachen in Bonn und Halle gewählt und von dem (damals noch demokratischen) Ministerium in Berlin nach Halle berufen, wo meine Habilitation demnächst bevorstand, als die Nationalsozialisten die Macht ergriffen und ich mit meiner Entlassung rechnen musste (wegen der „jüdischen" Abstammung meiner Frau). Doch hat der Hallische Kurator mich weiter im Dienst behalten, da ich als Nicht-Deutscher kein Beamter, sondern nur Angestellter war.

Vom 1935-8 habe ich (ohne Gehalt) vertretungsweise slavische Sprachen auch in Jena gelesen.

1938 war mir eine Berufung nach Brno (Tschechoslovakei) in Aussicht gestellt, die aber nicht zustande kam; 1939 habe ich Verhandlungen mit der Columbia University (New York, Prof. Heuser) wegen der Uebernahme einer Gastprofessur geführt; etwas später stand ich auf der Kandidatenliste der Wiener Universität; 1940-1 wurde ich zum Prof. der Phil. an der Univ. Pressburg (Slovakei) vorgeschlagen. Ich konnte aber natürlich in den von den Nationalsozialismus beherrschten Ländern auf kein Fortkommen rechnen.

B.5. Die Liste meiner wichtigsten Veröffentlichungen seit 1930 liegt bei.

B.7. Sind Sie gegen den Nationalsozialismus tätig gewesen? In welcher Art und Weise? (Nennen Sie zwei Zeugen dafür).

Seit 1935 bis 1941 habe ich in Halle einen Kreis von jüngeren Dozenten, Assistenten und besseren Studenten geleitet, der sich mit Philosophie befasste und in welchem gelegentlich auch politische Fragen zur Sprache kamen, — dass ich dabei immer den ganzen Widersinn der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung dargelegt habe, können die Teilnehmer des Kreises bestätigen (z.B. Prof. Dr. H. Kleinknecht, Prof. an der Univ. Rostock, z. Zt. Ellwangen/Württemberg, bei Herzog; Buchhändler H. Hoffmann, Halle a.d.S., Buchhandlung Lippert-Niemeyer — der letztere verbrachte 9 Monate im Nazi-Gefängnis; die

Lektorin M. L. Giebelhausen an der Univ. Greifswald). — Fast genau so offen sprach ich meine Ansichten in meinem slavistischen Kreis aus, den ich seit 1935 leitete (und an welchem übrigens mehrere „unerwünschte" Ausländer, vor allem Tschechen und zwei „Halbjüdinen" teilgenommen haben), bestätigen können das die Mitglieder des Kreises (Pfarrer K. H. Anbau, Petersberg bei Halle a.d.S., Pfarrhaus, Frau Prof. S. Windisch, Halle a.d.S., Mühlweg, 11). — Dass ich auch in Kreisen meiner Bekannten in einer ähnlichen Weise und noch offener wirkte, können weitere Zeugen bestätigen, z.B. Dr. W. Hennemann, Halle a.d.S., Mozartstr. 20, Peter Brückner, Halle a.d.S., Fuchsbergstr. 5 uff. — Falls die Zeugen in Halle schwer erreichbar sind, möchte ich meine Schweizer Kollegen nennen: Prof. Dr. Fritz Lieb, Univ. Basel; Lektor an der Univ. Basel, Dr. Paul Zumthor. — Ich darf vielleicht auch meine materielle Hilfe einigen tschechoslovakischen Juden (Zeugin dafür Frl. T. Hovsijeva, Prag. II, Hopfenštokova, 4), den die Zwangsarbeit in Deutschland ausübenden Tschechen (Zeuge Prof. Dr. J. Vašica, Praha. XIX, ul. Národní Obrany, 21), Polen (Zeuge Prof. Dr. S. Hessen, Warszawa, Wszechnica Polska), Franzosen (Zeuge Prof. Dr. D. Stremooukhoff, Strasbourg, Université) als eine antinationalsozialistische Tätigkeit bezeichnen. Durch einen Dresdner Kreis habe ich verschiedene Gegenstände und Bücher an die russischen und polnischen Kriegsgefangenen geliefert (Zeuge Prof. Dr. F. Stepun, z. Zt. Oberbayern, Tegernsee, „Sonnenhof"). Gelegentlich habe ich auch die illegale antinazionalsozialistische Literatur verbreitet (etwa kommunistische — Zeuge — Baumeister Erich Kaestner, Halle).

Ich möchte diese Tätigkeiten keinesfalls als einen besonderen Verdienst von mir bezeichnen, ich will aber die Frage der Militärregierung eingehend beantworten.

B.9. Sind Sie seit 1930 in anderer Hinsicht wegen Ihrer politischen Gesinnung benachteiligt worden? Bevorzugt worden?

Dass ich vielfach nicht fortkommen. konnte habe ich schon erwähnt. Seit August 1941 durfte ich das Stadtgebiet von Halle nicht verlassen (nur eine einzige zweitägige Reise wegen eines Vortrags an der Lutherhalle in Wittenberg wurde mir erlaubt). Einige Arbeiten (tschechische und ukrainische) von mir wurden von der deutschen Zensur in Prag (Tschechoslovakei) zum Druck nicht zugelassen (Zeuge Prof. Dr. J. Vašica, Praha. XIX. ul. Národní Obrany, 21).